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PREFACE

The Studies gathered in this volume comprise several liturgical, patristic and historical essays on early Eastern Christianity, grouped in the following three larger sections.

The Significance of Greek, Syriac, and Armenian Liturgical Terminology

Essays I – III investigate a variety of important liturgical technical terms with far reaching implications for our understanding of liturgical and patristic texts. Essay I, dedicated to the early form of the Rites of Initiation, deals with the Greek, Syriac and Armenian terminology for the oil and the anointing, demonstrating that there were specific terms which refer either to the prebaptismal or postbaptismal anointing. Through the close scrutiny of this terminology it is possible to show how the rites of initiation were re-interpreted in the second half of the fourth century, and how and why an anointing after baptism became introduced at that time.

The general investigation of the origins of baptismal rites inevitably leads to a more detailed analysis of Jesus' baptism in Essay II: This study attempts to clarify some important issues of Spirit-Christology, based on an investigation of Jesus' baptism in the river Jordan according to Greek, Syriac, and Armenian patristic sources, taking also into account the different Greek and Syriac gospel text of Mt 11, 27–29.

Essay III represents a small fragment of an intended future book-length study of the evolution of the Armenian creed. This analysis of the vocabulary on the incarnation demonstrates the analogy between Syriac and Armenian translation techniques of Greek terms, and shows how the Syrians and Armenians eventually sought to render more closely the Nicene vocabulary of σαρκωθέντα by coining neologisms during the first half of the fifth century, and by the invention of a new vocabulary for ἐνανθρωπήσαντα during the sixth century.

By these philological investigations in the essays I–III the author attempts in a modest way to continue the work of such eminent orientalists and liturgiologists as Anton Baumstark († 1948) and his disciple Hieronymus Engberding († 1969), and in the context of the examination of the oriental creeds the author is building on the prior analysis of the Syriac creeds especially by the late André de Halleux, Sebastian Brock, and several other well known specialists in Syriac studies.

The Origins and Development of Liturgical Structures

This second group of studies examines some aspects of baptism and the anaphora, in particular the origins of the epiclesis and its inclusion at the prebaptismal anointing and the anaphora (IV).

Essays V and VI, both pioneering studies on the Armenian Office, are more closely centered around the development of liturgical units and structures, based on a comparison between the Armenian, Byzantine and Syriac offices. Here attempts are made to continue the work of Juan Mateos who introduced the author to *Vergleichende Liturgiewissenschaft* at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, a scholarly method indelibly linked to the name of Anton Baumstark and continued in Germany only by his disciple Hieronymus Engberding, to whom we owe the seminal study on the anaphora of Basil in all its oriental redactions, a work unrivalled to the present day. A. Baumstark and H. Engberding were the only liturgical scholars with the ability to examine any given liturgical text in Greek, Church Slavonic, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, or Ethiopian, and to pronounce astute observations on the value of the various texts based on detailed grammatical investigations. After the death of Baumstark (1948) and the retirement of Engberding, these philological skills in the context of liturgical studies rapidly declined in Germany. It was Juan Mateos S.J. who in the sixties established a *School of Comparative Liturgiology* at the Oriental Institute in Rome with special emphasis on the Byzantine and Syriac Rites from which other scholars, eminent in their own right emerged, such as Robert Taft and Miguel Arranz, both specialists in the Byzantine rite. As Robert Taft rightly observed: '... comparative oriental liturgiology ... remains a scholarly discipline practiced *ex professo* by very few' (*Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond*, p. VII). Whether Comparative Liturgy with its philological underpinnings will flourish once more in Germany and elsewhere, and survive at the turn to the next century, remains to be seen.

The Council of Ephesus and its Aftermath in Syria and Armenia

Liturgy, dogmatic statements, and the formation of creeds grow in an historical context. The tale of rivalry between Antiochene and Alexandrian christology, the pro-Syrian factions among the Armenian hierarchy with their Antiochene christological tenets and the hellenophile leanings of their opponents is unfolded in the last study (chapter VII). It is a tale of tumultuous upheavals between rival factions in the context and aftermath of the council of Ephesus.

* * *

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Universität Tübingen
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

I

The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications

The great variety of anointings at baptism has led to considerable confusion over their respective meaning. Moreover, scholars have nearly unanimously accepted the fact that the prebaptismal anointing has a purificatory or even exorcistic purpose. Such an understanding is certainly true for the baptismal tradition in the West. Hippolytus (third century), for instance, makes this statement immediately after the renunciation: "And when he has said this let him anoint with the oil of exorcism, saying: 'Let all evil spirits depart far from thee.'"[1] Here we see that the anointing is strictly linked with the preceding rite of renunciation.

In the East, however, the prebaptismal anointing was not always associated with an apotropaic ritual. The Syrian rite of baptism, for example, knows of various anointings in connection with baptism — twice before and once after the baptism. Scholars were slow to accept the fact that the Syrian rite originally knew only one prebaptismal anointing, namely, the pouring of oil over the head, and that only at a later period in history was the whole body anointed.[2]

Before we consider the reasons why the East adopted first an anointing of the whole body (before baptism) and, second, an anointing following baptism, it will be useful to outline briefly the sources we are going to look at and to analyze them carefully.

We can distinguish three main groups: those that refer inciden-

[1] See E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (London 1970) 5.

[2] Even today, A. F. J. Klijn ("An Ancient Syriac Baptismal Liturgy in the Syriac Acts of John," *Novum Testamentum* 6 [1963] 227) and others suggest that originally the whole body and not the head was anointed. In a paper delivered at the Second Symposium of Syriac Studies held in Paris, I demonstrated the original structure of the Syriac rite of baptism, comparing the Syriac evidence with the oldest Armenian sources: Orientalia Christiana Analecta 202 (Rom 1977) 118–125.

tally to baptism; the commentaries and church orders; the baptismal *ordines*.

To the incidental references belong the so-called *Teaching of St. Gregory*,[3] which forms part of the *Agathangeli Historia*;[4] the Syriac *Acts of Thomas* (third century) and *Acts of John* (fourth century);[5] and the fourth century writings of Aphraates[6] and Ephrem.[7] None of these sources refers to an anointing after baptism.

Among the commentaries, baptismal instructions and church orders, attention should be drawn to the *Didascalia*,[8] the *Apostolic Constitutions*,[9] the explanations of baptism attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem,[10] the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia,[11] and the baptismal instructions of John Chrysostom.[12]

From the great variety of baptismal *ordines*, I choose the Armenian ordo[13] because of its great antiquity (the oldest manuscripts,

[3] This Armenian document is now available in English: R. W. Thomson, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism. Translation and Commentary*. Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 3 (Cambridge, Mass. 1970).

[4] See R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary* (New York 1976).

[5] See W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries*, 2 vols. (London/Edinburgh 1871). A. F. J. Klijn adopted the occasionally inexact translation of Wright in his new book, *The Acts of Thomas. Introduction, Text, Commentary* (Leiden 1962).

[6] See the excellent study by E. J. Duncan, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates the Persian Sage*. Studies in Christian Antiquity 8 (Washington, D.C. 1945).

[7] See the edition and German translation of Ephrem's writings by E. Beck in various volumes of Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium [CSCO] (Louvain).

[8] See R. H. Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum* (Oxford 1929).

[9] See F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1905; reprint, Turin 1964).

[10] See F. L. Cross, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments: The Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catecheses* (London 1951).

[11] See A. Mingana, *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist*. Woodbrooke Studies 6 (Cambridge 1933).

[12] See P. W. Harkins, *St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*. Ancient Christian Writers 31 (Westminster, Md. 1963); A. Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome: Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites*. Sources chrétiennes 50 (Paris 1957).

[13] See the English translation of F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum. Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest Mss.* (Oxford 1905). In my forthcoming study, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* (Rome: Instituto

which I quote, belong to the ninth/tenth century; however, because of structural and other internal criteria the Armenian ritual has to be compared with the Syriac sources of the third to fifth centuries[14]). In a few instances a brief glance at the Orthodox West Syrian[15] and the East Syrian baptismal ordo[16] can complete the picture.

TERMS USED FOR THE OIL AND THE ANOINTING

One of the thorniest problems in the development of the rites of initiation is the historical evolution of the anointings in connection with baptism. In earlier studies various unproved hypotheses, inaccurate inferences and untenable conclusions about the original meaning of the various anointings have been suggested. Although L. L. Mitchell in his book on the anointings provides extensive documentation, the chapters on the Syriac evidence show considerable weakness.[17] If any progress on this highly controversial issue is to be achieved, rigorous attention must be paid to the various terms used for the oil and the anointings.

The Syriac and Armenian Terminology. It is striking that the oldest sources, of both Armenian and Syriac origin, never refer to the oil as *myron*, but invariably use "(olive) oil": *mešḥā* (Syriac); *iwł* (Armenian); [*elaion* = Greek]. This usage is found in the *Didascalia*,[18] the *Acts of Thomas*,[19] the *Acts of John*,[20] the writings of Aphraates,[21] Eph-

Orientale), I edited the oldest manuscripts, with a complete *index verborum* and a German translation of the Armenian manuscript.

[14] See my study, n. 13 above.

[15] See *The Sacrament of Holy Baptism According to the Ancient Rite of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch*. Translated from the original Syriac by Deacon Murad Saliba Barsom; edited and published by Metropolitan Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel. Syriac and English translation (Hackensack, N.J. 1974).

[16] See *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari Together with Two Additional Liturgies to Be Said on Certain Feasts and Other Days: And the Order of Baptism* (London: SPCK 1893).

[17] *Baptismal Anointing*. Alcuin Club Collections 48 (London 1966). For a critique of Mitchell's study, see the chapter, "Die Bedeutung der präbaptismalen Salbung im armenischen Text. . . ," in my study, n. 13 above.

[18] See ch. XVI.

[19] See chaps. 27 and 132.

[20] See ed. Wright, II, 40, 54.

[21] Aphraates talks of the fruit of the "splendid olive tree, wherein is the sign (*rušmā*) of the mystery of life, whereby Christians (*m'šiḥē*) and priests and kings and prophets are perfected"; see *Demonstratio* 23; ed. D. J. Parisot, *Aphraatis sapientis Persae demonstrationes* II. Patrologia Syriaca (Paris 1907) 10.

rem,[22] and Theodore of Mopsuestia.[23] All these Syriac sources use the term "(olive) oil" (*mešḥā*) or compounds like "oil of anointing" (*mešḥā da-mᵉšīḥūtā*). Unfortunately these terms have not always been translated as "(olive) oil," as they should have been, but by misleading terms such as *myron* or "chrism."

The earliest Armenian sources seem to have taken over the Syriac terminology. The oil is likewise called "oil of anointing" (*iwł awcowt'ean*),[24] and we also find the simple term "(olive) oil" (*iwł*) or "holy oil" (*iwł sowrb*), respectively, "all-holy oil" (*iwł amenasowrb*).[25]

Before turning to the Greek terms for the oil, we want to complete the picture with a brief glance at the terms for "anointing" in the Syriac documents. We have already mentioned that originally the Syriac Church probably knew of just one prebaptismal anointing, the anointing of the head. Besides this anointing of the head, gradually also an anointing of the whole body was introduced before baptism, and eventually an anointing after baptism.

The oldest Syriac sources of the third and fourth centuries regularly call the prebaptismal anointing of the head *rušmā* (sign, mark),[26] whereas the term "seal" (*ḥatmā*) is normally reserved for the postbaptismal anointing that was introduced by the end of the fourth century. Great confusion was created by the inaccurate translation of *rušmā* as "seal" instead of "sign" or "mark." This misleading translation of the terms for "oil" and "anointing" occurs in all texts and studies dealing with this subject.[27]

[22] See *De epiphania* III, responsorium, 1, 6.

[23] See Mingana, *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, pp. 176, 179 (Syr.); the English translation ("chrism") is inexact, for "chrism" is not *mešḥā*.

[24] See *Agathangeli Historia*, no. 833. For a complete analysis, see my forthcoming study, n. 13 above.

[25] See my study, n. 13 above.

[26] See *Acts of Thomas*, chaps. 49–50 (In Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, and Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, the translation "seal" is wrong, for "seal" does not translate *rušmā*.); Aphraates, *Demonstratio* 23 and *passim* (ed. Parisot, II, 9–10); Ephrem, *De virginitate* VII, 6 and *passim*. Occasionally "imprint" is also used.

[27] To name only a few recent ones: Mitchell, *Baptismal Anointing* 33, 42, and *passim*; Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* 90 and *passim*; hence the confusion in his introduction (55): ". . . first of all [we] have to deal with the word 'seal' in these Acts . . . ," identifying (correctly) "seal" with *sphragis*; but in the first place, "seal" does not translate *rušmā* (*signum*). In short, the *Acts of Thomas* never uses the term "seal" when referring to the anointing but *rušmā* (mark, sign). We find further incorrect translations in Whitaker, *Documents* 14 and *passim*; Th. M. Finn, *The Liturgy of Baptism in the Baptismal Instructions of St. John Chrysostom*, Studies in Christian Antiquity 15 (Washington, D.C. 1967) 131.

We have seen that the prebaptismal anointing of the head was regularly called *rušmā* (sign, mark). The main term for the prebaptismal anointing of the body seems to have been *m*ᵉ*šīḥūṯā* (anointing), whereas the postbaptismal anointing was normally referred to as *ḥatmā* (seal).[28]

The Greek Terminology. It is well known that the *Apostolic Constitutions* incorporated material from the *Didache* (first/second century) and from the *Didascalia* (third century). Therefore the *Apostolic Constitutions* consist of various layers that do not reflect the same age. Another feature of this document should be mentioned here: although the Constitutions belong to the Syrian church orders of the fourth century, they have come down to us in Greek.

In Books 3 and 7, which depend heavily upon the *Didache* and the *Didascalia*, and therefore belong to one of the oldest layers of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the oil for the prebaptismal anointing is always referred to as "(olive) oil" (*elaion*) or "holy oil" (*hagion elaion*).[29] We have already met this term (with or without the attribute "holy") in our previous sources as one of the original terms for the oil.

With Chrysostom, however, and more importantly with Cyril of Jerusalem, we are faced with an entirely new terminology for the oil used for the prebaptismal anointing. Chrysostom refers to the oil either as *myron*[30] or as "spiritual oil" (*elaion pneumatikon*),[31] but occasionally he also uses "oil of gladness" (*elaion agalliaseōs*).[32] Cyril, who is known to have introduced other hitherto unknown practices,[33] says to the neophytes: "Ye were anointed with exorcised oil (*tō elaiō eporkistō*)."[34]

[28] This distinction can be traced back to a certain extent even in the oldest Syriac manuscripts for baptism; see S. Brock, "Studies in the Early History of the Syrian Orthodox Baptismal Liturgy," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 28 (1972) 31–33.

[29] See Book III, 17, 1 and VII, 22, 2. The oil for the prebaptismal anointing is called "oil" or "holy oil," whereas the oil used for the anointing after baptism is always called *myron*; see III, 16, 31; VII, 22, 2; 44, 2 (Whitaker, *Documents* 31, 32, 34, gives inexact translations).

[30] See Wenger, *Jean Chrysostome* 145–146. In contrast to Chrysostom, this term is reserved in the *Apostolic Constitutions* for the postbaptismal anointing (see previous note).

[31] See Finn, *Liturgy of Baptism* 121ff.

[32] Finn, 130, n. 49.

[33] See G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* 348ff.

[34] *Mystagogical Catecheses* 2, 3.

So far we have established the various terms that were used in the inner region of Syria (cf. *Acts of Thomas, Acts of John*, Aphraates, Ephrem); Armenia (*Agathangelos*, baptismal ordo); the Greek-speaking coastline of the western half of Syria and Palestine (Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem).

In the oldest East Syrian and Armenian documents, the oil for the prebaptismal anointing is called "(olive) oil," or "(olive) oil of anointing" or "holy (olive) oil," never *myron*. (The oldest stratum of the *Apostolic Constitutions* follows this group in calling the prebaptismal oil "(olive) oil" or "holy (olive) oil.") This anointing before baptism is regularly called "mark" or "sign" (Syriac: *rušmā*) in the Syriac sources. When the Syriac Church eventually adopted an anointing after baptism, it was referred to as "seal" (*ḥatmā*).

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, which reflect the practices of the western half of Syria, are one of the first sources that refer to an anointing after baptism. The oil used at the prebaptismal anointing is regularly called "(olive) oil" or "holy oil," whereas the oil that is applied after baptism is always designated as *myron*. With Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem, the old term for the prebaptismal anointing is dropped entirely. Chrysostom takes the *myron*, which in the *Apostolic Constitutions* is restricted to designate the postbaptismal anointing, as a term for the prebaptismal anointing. Cyril goes even a step further in calling the prebaptismal oil "exorcised oil."

Does this change in terminology also reflect an alteration in the meaning of the prebaptismal anointing? And if we come to an affirmative conclusion, we have to ask: What caused this change? It is time now to look more closely at what the various writers say about the anointing(s) and at the main themes with which they associate the anointing.

CHANGE IN THE LEITMOTIV OF THE PREBAPTISMAL ANOINTING

1. *The Main Theme in the Earliest Sources of Syria and Armenia.* In the *Acts of Thomas* we find five accounts of baptism. [1] Chapters 49–50 give a brief report of a baptism that took place in the river, followed by the Eucharist. This report is of no interest for the moment, since there is no detailed description of an anointing. [2] Chapters 25–27 and 132–133 mention only one anointing, namely, the pouring of the oil over the head before baptism.

[3] Chapters 121 and 156–158 refer to two anointings before baptism: the anointing of the head and of the whole body. No indication, however, is found of any further anointing after baptism.

We give here the text of the first two reports that mention just one anointing which took place before baptism (quoted from Wright's edition).

Chapter 27	Chapter 132
[He] poured oil upon their heads, and said:	He cast oil upon their heads, and said:
Come, holy name of the Messiah, come, power of grace, which art from on high, come, perfect mercy, come, exalted gift, come, sharer of the blessing, come, revealer of the hidden mysteries . . . come, messenger of reconciliation, come, spirit of holiness and purify their reins and hearts.	Glory to thee, (thou) beloved fruit! Glory to thee, (thou) name of the Messiah! Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power that dwellest in the Messiah![33]

In chapter 27 the cleansing aspect of the anointing is clearly stated, but attention should be drawn to the compiler's emphasis on associating the oil with the Messiah.

In the next two accounts the picture is slightly different. First of all, two anointings are indicated (of the head and of the whole body), although only for the anointing of the head is a prayer (or further explanation) given.

Chapter 121	Chapter 157
And he cast [the oil] upon the head of Mygdōnia and said:	And he cast [the oil] upon the head of . . . these, and said: In thy name, Jesus the Messiah, let it be to these persons for the remission of offences and sins, and for the destruction of the enemy,

[33] I doubt whether the Syriac manuscript really gives "Messiah" (*mšiḥā*) and not rather "(olive) oil" (*meshā*). At any rate, the Syriac play on words cannot be rendered in any modern language.

Heal her of her old wounds,
and wash away from her her sores,
and strengthen her weakness.

and for the healing of their souls
and their bodies.

As in the previous group, there is no postbaptismal anointing. It should not be overlooked that in the second group, just quoted, the theme changes slightly in comparison with the first two accounts (chaps. 27 and 132). Although the prayer (cf. ch. 157) is still addressed to Jesus *the Messiah*, the theme of the Messiah no longer plays any real role. The leitmotiv is clearly restricted to the healing aspect of the oil.

Comparing these two groups, I came to the hypothetical conclusion that the *Acts of Thomas* consist of various layers, and that the second group (chaps. 121 and 157) belong to a later stratum. This hypothesis is based on the following reasons.

We know that originally there was only one anointing, namely, the anointing of the head. The anointing of the whole body was introduced at a later stage. This anointing of the whole body, which took place after the anointing of the head, is first attested in the second group of the *Acts of Thomas*. It is of great interest that the Greek version of the Acts does not include this second anointing.[38]

If we look at the context of the first two reports, that is, chapters 27 and 132 (Klijn, pp. 77, 135), we note that there still was no special prayer for the blessing of the oil; the consecration of the oil is secondary. Like the anointing of the whole body, the blessing of the oil is mentioned for the first time in the second group of the *Acts of Thomas* (chaps. 121 and 157; Klijn, pp. 130, 149).

In my opinion, the most striking evidence, however, for assuming a later stratum for chapters 121 and 157 is indicated by the shift from the leitmotiv centered around the Messiah to the healing aspect of the anointing. This will become more obvious when we analyze the next sources.

In one of the oldest Syriac documents, the *Didascalia* (ch. XVI), the anointing is associated with the following leitmotiv: "As of old the priests and kings were anointed in Israel, do thou in like manner, with the imposition of hand, anoint the head of those who receive baptism." Here the anointing is linked with that of the Israelitic priest-king. The same connection is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (III, 16, 3–4). This text

[38] See Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* 285.

connects the anointing before baptism, moreover, with the New Testament (incorporating 1 Peter 2:9)[37] in the following manner: Through Christ, the Anointed (Messiah-King, *Christos* indicate just their different etymological provenance; the meaning is the same), the newly anointed, that is the baptizandus,[38] becomes assimilated to the messianic priesthood and kingship of Christ.

In the Armenian baptismal ordo we find the following prayer, which also takes up 1 Peter 2:9: "Blessed are you, Lord our God, who has chosen you a people unto priesthood and kingship for a holy race and for a selected people, as you have already previously anointed priests and kings and prophets with such all-holy oil. . . ."[39]

The continuity between the priest-king of the Old Testament, the fulfillment of this kingship at the baptism of the Messiah in the Jordan, and the handing down of this reality to the apostles and the "children of the church" is especially stressed in the Armenian *Teaching of St. Gregory*: ". . . The horn of the oil [that is, the anointing of the priest-king in Israel] was the type of the anointing of Christ. . . . Thence also Aaron was anointed to the priesthood of the Lord . . . to anoint according to the same type. . . . (no. 432); . . . The mystery was preserved in the seed of Abraham . . . until John, priest, prophet and baptist . . . and he gave the priesthood, the anointing, the prophecy and the kingship to our Lord Jesus Christ (no. 433); . . . and Christ gave them to the apostles, and the apostles to the children of the church" (no. 469).[40]

Ephrem also stresses the close ties between the "christians" (the anointed) and the Messiah (the Anointed): "In symbol and truth Leviathan is trodden down by mortals: the baptized, like divers,

[37] "You, however, are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation. . . ."

[38] It is interesting to note that the appellation *christianos* (Christian) still refers to *Christos* = the Anointed. In the eastern half of Syria, the Christians were originally called *m'šiḥē* (the anointed); see the careful study on that topic by S. Brock, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet. Bericht über ein Symposion in Reinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 4. bis 8. Okt. 1971*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 96 (Göttingen 1975).

[39] In my study, n. 13 above, I have shown that this prayer, which today is said at the blessing of the oil, originally belonged to the prebaptismal anointing.

[40] Thomson, *The Teaching* 94ff; see also the striking affinity in the apocryphal *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*, cited in G. Kretschmar, *Die Geschichte des Taufgottesdienstes in der alten Kirche*. Leiturgia. Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes (Kassel 1970) 28–29.

strip and put on oil (*meshā*), as a symbol of Christ (*m*ᵉ*šiḥā*)."[41] In another hymn Ephrem not only makes an allusion to the priests and kings of the old covenant, but refers also to the gift of the Spirit bestowed on the baptizandus at this prebaptismal anointing: "This oil is a dear friend of the Holy Spirit; it serves Him, following Him like a disciple. With it the Spirit signs priests and anoints kings; for with the oil the Holy Spirit imprints His mark in His sheep. Like a signet ring whose impression is left on wax, so the hidden seal of the Spirit is imprinted by oil on the bodies of those who are anointed in baptism."[42]

The same association with the coming of the Spirit at the anointing before baptism is given in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VII, 22, 2): "But thou shalt first anoint the person with holy oil; afterwards baptize him . . . that the anointing (*chrisma*)[43] may be a participation of the Holy Spirit." In Book III, 17, 1, this is again mentioned: "The oil [is given] instead of the Holy Spirit."[44]

All the texts I have quoted so far speak unambiguously at this point about the prebaptismal anointing. Why did the Syrians think of associating the anointing in Christian baptism with the anointing of the priest-kings and with the gift of the Spirit? The only possible answer that makes sense to me must be sought in the texts of the Old and New Testaments.

One simply cannot overlook the striking structural resemblance between the divine nomination of the priest-kings in the old covenant and the Christian prebaptismal anointing: the prophet instructs the newly appointed king before his anointing (see the catechetical instructions of the baptizandus); the prophet anoints the head of the king; in connection with the anointing, the Spirit descends upon the king.[45]

[41] *De fide* (hymns) 82, 10. The passage is quoted according to the English translation of S. Brock, *The Harp of the Spirit: Twelve Poems of Saint Ephrem. Introduction and Translation.* Studies Supplementary to *Sobornost* 4 (1975) 33.

[42] *De virginitate* VII, 6; Brock, *The Harp of the Spirit* 50. That this anointing precedes baptism is stated in verse 8.

[43] Whitaker, *Documents* 32, gives the inaccurate translation: "that the anointing with oil. . . ."

[44] For further references, for example in the documents of Cappadocia, see my study, n. 13 above.

[45] See the anointing of Saul and David in 1 Samuel 9:15ff; 16:1–13. Here is the description of Saul's anointing: "Then, from a flask he had with him, Samuel poured oil on Saul's head . . . and the Spirit of God rushed upon him" (1 Sam 10:1, 10; see

Other strong indications support this comparison. The kings of Israel were anointed with the "horn of oil." The Syriac Bible, called the *Pešiṭta*, gives: *qarnā d-mešḥā* (horn of oil).[16] We have already met the simple word for the oil, *mešḥā*, in all the old sources, whether of Syriac, Armenian or Greek origin. Furthermore, exactly the same combined term, that is "horn of oil," but also sometimes "horn of anointing" (*qarnā da-mᵉšīḥūtā*) has survived in East Syrian sources, for example in Ephrem and in a commentary on baptism by an anonymous writer of the ninth century.[17]

Besides the striking affinity in the terminology, another important feature should be mentioned here. We have already referred to the continuity that the Syrians and Armenians saw in the anointing of the priest-kings of the Old Testament and the anointing of Christ at his baptism in the Jordan. This is seen, for example, in the Armenian *Teaching of St. Gregory*: ". . . the mystery [of the anointing in the Old Testament] was preserved . . . until John, priest, prophet and baptist . . . and he gave the priesthood, the anointing, the prophecy and the kingship to our Lord Jesus Christ" (nos. 432, 433). Here it is implicitly stated that the anointing and kingship of the Old Testament were passed over to Jesus at his baptism by John.

The term "Christ" (Messiah = the Anointed) could be taken as an indirect indication of the anointing of Jesus. Yet no explicit reference to Christ's anointing at the Jordan is given in the first three gospels. But in Acts 10:38 Jesus is presented as the one whom "God had anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power." And in Luke 4:18 Jesus, while reading the Scriptures to the Jews in the synagogue, applies Isaiah 61:1–2 to himself: "The Spirit of the Lord has been given to me, for he has anointed me."

also v. 6). And David's anointing: "Then Samuel, with the horn of oil in hand, anointed him in the midst of his brothers; and from that day on, the spirit of the Lord rushed upon David" (1 Sam 16:13). See E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im Alten Testament und im alten Orient*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 87 (Berlin 1963) 52–63; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum* (Stuttgart 1955) 31ff; *idem*, *Religionsphänomenologie*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1969) 228–229, 385.

[16] See, for example, 1 Samuel 16:13; 1 Kings 1:39.

[17] See Ephrem, *De epiphania* III, 6; *De virginitate* VII, 1; *Expositio* of an anonymous writer: tract. V, 5; ed. R. H. Connolly, *Anonymi auctoris expositio officiorum ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta, accedit Abrahae bar Lipeh interpretatio officiorum* II. CSCO 76, t. 32 (Louvain 1953) 95.

From these indications in Scripture and in the early writings of Syria and Armenia, one can assume that the descent of the dove at Christ's baptism is the visible manifestation of the Spirit's presence, and that with the divine voice, "You are my Son, the Beloved; my favor rests on you," Jesus is anointed and invested as the Messiah-King.[38]

How closely the Syrians shaped their baptismal liturgy after Jesus' descent into the Jordan becomes evident through another passage of the *Didascalia* (ch. IX). In this short reference to baptism, the dignity of the bishop plays the predominant role: "through whom the Lord gave you the Holy Spirit . . . through whom you became sons of the light and through whom the Lord in baptism, by the imposition of the hand of the bishop, bore witness to each one of you, and uttered His holy voice, saying: 'Thou art my Son. I this day have begotten thee.'"

In the last phrase, Psalm 2:7 is quoted. It is interesting to note that this quotation is also given as a variant reading of Luke's presentation of the heavenly voice at Christ's baptism (3:22). It is possible that this reading was the original one, which was eventually dropped because of its possible adoptionalistic connotation.[39]

From the *Didascalia* we can deduce that these words were said by the bishop as a formula while he laid his hand upon the head of

[38] See my forthcoming article on Jesus' baptism and the Christian rites of initiation as an enthronization ritual in *Le Muséon*, and the interesting aspect E. O. James has pointed out in his book *Christian Myth and Ritual. A Historical Study*, 2nd ed. (Cleveland/New York 1965) 100–101: "Viewed in relation to the coronation ritual, the baptism of Christ, as recorded by the synoptists, is highly significant, since it contains most of the essential elements in the pattern. First there is the proclamation of the kingdom by the precursor, which is followed immediately by the ablution at the hands of John in preparation for the investiture as the Son of God. This was accomplished by a special anointing of the Holy Spirit from heaven with a visible manifestation of the divine presence in the form of a dove, just as in the Egyptian coronation the gods frequently appeared as some kind of creature in which they dwelt. Thus installed by God Himself as the Messiah-King, and 'begotten' again like an ancient monarch at his coronation, He betook Himself into the wilderness to undergo a period of seclusion and fasting from which He emerged victorious over the powers of evil. Having first received a spiritual renewal . . . after His struggles, immediately He proclaimed Himself the anointed Messiah [cf. Luke 4:18ff] or Christ, and gathered Himself followers to establish the kingdom." See also G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* 228–229, 385; *idem*, *Sakrales Königtum* 31ff.

[39] See E. C. Ratcliff, "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition and Its Resettlement under the Influence of Jerusalem in the IV Century," in J. Vellian, *The Syrian Churches Series* 6 (Kottayam 1973) 88–89.

the baptizandus. The gesture of laying on the hand was accompanied by another one, namely, the pouring of the oil over the head, which is not mentioned explicitly here but in chapter XVI of the *Didascalia*: ". . . with the imposition of hand anoint the head of those who receive baptism." But let us come back to the previous important statement in the *Didascalia* (ch. IX), including the variant reading in Luke 3:22 about being "begotten" at the rites of initiation. It is a common imagery among all Syriac writers to speak of baptism as a womb. Here the idea of rebirth is taken up as it is depicted in John 3:3–5: "I tell you most solemnly, unless a man is born from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God. . . . unless a man is born through water and the Spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God."

To summarize, in the oldest Syriac documents, Christian baptism is shaped after Christ's baptism in the Jordan. As Jesus had received the anointing through the divine presence in the appearance of a dove, and was invested as the Messiah, so in Christian baptism every candidate is anointed and, in connection with this anointing, the gift of the Spirit is conferred. Therefore the main theme of this prebaptismal anointing is the entry into the eschatological kingship of the Messiah, being in the true sense of the word assimilated to the Messiah-King through this anointing.

Only with this discovery are we now able to explain [1] why the oldest Syriac and Armenian sources knew of just one anointing, namely, the pouring of the oil[30] over the head: At the anointing of the priest-king of the Old Testament, the oil was poured over the head of the newly appointed king; [2] why the coming of the Spirit is associated with this anointing of the head: In connection with the anointing of the priest-king of Israel, the Spirit of the Lord came over the newly nominated king; [3] the deeper meaning of this Old Testament imagery: The anointing of the priest-king of the old covenant prefigured the anointing of the Messiah. Jesus is revealed as the Messiah-King at the Jordan through the descent of the Spirit in the appearance of a dove. What happened at the Jordan is dramatically reinvoked in the earliest Syriac documents.

[30] These sources mention explicitly that the oil was *poured* or *cast* over the head, for example, the *Acts of Thomas* (chaps. 27 and 132, 121 and 157) and *Agathangelos* (no. 833; see edition of Thomson, 368/389). The signing of the forehead with the sign of the cross seems to be the later form.

It is also no longer puzzling why the anointing, and not the immersion in the water, forms the central part of baptism in the early Syriac sources (see, for example, the *Acts of Thomas*). The description of Christ's baptism culminates in the appearance of the dove and the divine voice. This event, and not the actual descent into the water, is emphasized by Matthew, Luke and Mark. Furthermore, in John (1:32–33) Jesus is explicitly depicted as the one who baptizes with the Spirit, in contrast to John's baptism with water: "John also declared: 'I saw the Spirit coming down on him from heaven like a dove and resting on him. . . . he who sent me to baptize with water had said to me, "The man on whom you see the Spirit come down and rest is the one who is going to baptize with the Holy Spirit."'"

In the process of ritualization, therefore, it was the anointing that became, in Syria, the first and only visible gesture for the central event at Christ's baptism: his revelation as the Messiah-King through the descent of the Spirit.

In the early Syriac and Armenian reports about baptism, we frequently find miraculous events connected with the mentioning of the oil or the anointing.[31] Beyond doubt, we have to interpret all the accounts about any *epiphaneia* or miracles in general in connection with the oil in the light of these findings.

This concept of shaping the baptismal liturgy after what had happened at the Jordan[32] certainly represents the oldest and most powerful stratum in Syria. Yet, already in those two accounts of the *Acts of Thomas* (chaps. 121 and 157, cited above), where for the first time a second prebaptismal anointing is introduced, another possible interpretation of the anointing makes its way. The anointing of the whole body, besides that of the head, prepares for the eventual oblivion of the earlier powerful ritual, and for the reinterpretation of the prebaptismal anointing about a hundred years later.

For the moment it is enough to know that the prebaptismal anointing lost its original impact as an independent, even central element within the whole ritual, and that this anointing became attached to the previous rites, namely, renunciation and exorcism. During Chrysostom's time, for instance, the reinterpretation

[31] See *Agathangelos*, no. 833, *Acts of Thomas*, chaps. 25–27 (Whitaker, *Documents* 14), and the *Acts of John* (ed. Wright, II, 39, 54).

[32] Hence the designation of the baptismal font as "Jordan" (or "womb," according to John 3) in the Syriac writers and in their baptismal *ordines*.

of the anointing before baptism is already well underway. Hence he removes our leitmotiv from its original *Sitz im Leben* (that is, at the anointing) and transfers it, together with the gift of the Spirit, to the immersion into the water at baptism proper: ". . . in this manner you become also a king, a priest, and a prophet in the bath."[33] Yet, Chrysostom does not know of any anointing after baptism. At the time of Cyril of Jerusalem, however, or his successor John — at any rate toward the end of the fourth century — an anointing after baptism was adopted for the first time in the East. And now the conferring of the Spirit (which Chrysostom had moved to the immersion), with its association of the royal and sacerdotal anointing, is attached again to the anointing, but now it is the anointing after baptism: ". . . for what time Moses imparted to his brother the command of God, and made him High-priest, after bathing in the water, he anointed him; and Aaron was called Christ [or Anointed], from the emblematical chrism [*chrisma*]. So also the High-priest raising Solomon to the kingdom, anointed him after he had bathed in Gihon. To them, however, these things happened in a figure, but . . . ye were truly anointed by the Holy Ghost."[34]

Before we ask how these writers interpreted the anointing before baptism, and why an anointing after baptism was introduced at all, let us see if we can trace the leitmotiv even further.

The association of the anointing with the priest-kings of Israel is a universal phenomenon and not restricted to the Syriac Church, although it has without any doubt found its clearest expression in the Syrian communities. How widespread this leitmotiv with its specific meaning in the early Church was, has somehow escaped the attention of liturgical scholars. We find the three elements — baptismal anointing, gift of the Spirit, royal and sacerdotal anointing — also in the West. Here the anointing and the coming of the Spirit naturally took place after baptism, according to the Western tradition. We shall quote only Tertullian and Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Tertullian writes: ". . . we come up from the washing and are anointed with the blessed unction [*benedicta unctione*], following that ancient practice by which, ever since Aaron was anointed by

[33] See Chrysostom, *In 2 Cor.* 3:7, quoted in J. Ysebeart, *Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origins and Early Development*. Graec. Chr. Primaeva 1 (Nijmegen 1962) 378; see also Finn, *The Liturgy of Baptism* 177ff. Traits of the old stratum are still present in the East and West Syrian liturgies for baptism. See my study, n. 13 above.

[34] *Mystagogical Catecheses* 3, 6 (ed. Cross, 66).

Moses, there was a custom of anointing them for priesthood with oil out of a horn."[55] Ambrose, too, interprets the postbaptismal anointing as a sacerdotal and regal anointing, taking up the anointing of Aaron and connecting it with 1 Peter 2:9: "What is the people itself, if not a priestly people? To these it was said: 'But you are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation,' as the apostle Peter says. Everyone is anointed into the priesthood, into the kingdom."[56]

We have already met the quotation of 1 Peter 2:9 in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and in the Armenian baptismal ordo. Therefore we can assume that we are dealing here with a common stream of tradition. Beyond doubt its origin is in Syria, more precisely in the (gnostic) Judeo-Christian communities. The charismatic anointing, with its sudden epiphanic character before the immersion into the water and the lack of any cathartic or exorcistic connotations at this anointing, belongs to one of the earliest and most powerful traits of ritualization of baptism.

2. *The Prebaptismal Anointing as a Cathartic and Apotropaic Ritual in Syro-Palestine at the End of the Fourth Century.* In my forthcoming study on the Armenian rites of initiation, I show in detail that along the Greek-speaking coastline of the Mediterranean, in contrast to East Syria and Armenia, the preparatory rites of baptism developed into one of the most evolved and important parts of the whole baptismal liturgy. In the writings of Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and above all Cyril of Jerusalem, it is obvious that the confrontation with the demonic powers becomes one of the main issues in the homilies they addressed to the candidates for baptism. The preparation as a whole is viewed as a drama-like battle with Satan.[57] It did not take long before this battle was also reflected in the shaping of the ritual. The drama of warfare with the demons begins with the enrollment of the baptismal candidate

[55] *De baptismo* 3, 7 (Whitaker, *Documents* 8).

[56] *De sacramentis* 4, 3. It is interesting to observe the slight shift in the reference to the Old Testament; here the emphasis is not on the messianic king but on his priesthood. This can also be seen in Cyril; see n. 54 above.

[57] J. Daniélou, in *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame 1966, 19–34) gives a good outline of this conflict situation. It is true that we find this basic confrontation also in East Syria, for instance, but it never became ritualized to such an extent. That is the salient point.

and culminates in the daily exorcisms during his preparation. The process of cleansing became a predominant factor in the western half of Syria and Palestine. In the Syrian hinterland and the regions of Armenia, the necessity for a wholehearted conversion of the candidates naturally formed a basic theme as well, but the purificatory elements never became ritualized to such an extent as in fourth century Syro-Palestine. The ritualistic expression of the warfare being waged between the catechumen and Satan is reflected in the daily exorcisms. It is interesting to note that the ritualization of this inner conflict seems to be restricted to the coast areas of the Mediterranean, whereas in inner Syria and Armenia — in those regions which were cut off from the Roman Empire — these apotropaic rites never achieved any significant role.[58] In my research on the preparatory rites of baptism, I came to the conclusion that in the Persian and Armenian Churches these rites were never as fully developed as in Syro-Palestine, and that the apotropaic and cathartic elements did not prevail over the teaching of the faith in the regions outside the Roman Empire, in contrast to the big cities along the Mediterranean coast.

The view that the whole baptismal ritual can be regarded as a death of the previous life, culminating in the Pauline baptismal theology of dying and being buried with Christ — a very deep concept indeed — is a phenomenon alien to the early Syriac and Armenian writers. Baptism is always conceived of as a birth, and the baptismal water is seen as a womb, never as death or sepulcher or grave.[59] In the fourth century, however, the concept of baptism underwent considerable change, at least in the western half of Syria, including the south with its center, Jerusalem. With the continuously growing and expanding preparation, which lasted for several years — very often even to the deathbed, a fact that aroused more than one of the great figures of that epoch! — the purificatory elements were particularly emphasized and ritualized. Once the preparatory rites assumed a predominantly cathartic and exorcistic character, attaining at the same time the indispensable condition for the reception of the Spirit, it was unthinkable to maintain a prebaptismal anointing with which the gift of the Spirit was associated. Only when the catechumen was thoroughly cleansed and his sins washed away could the Spirit enter his heart.

[58] See the full documentation in my study, n. 13 above.

[59] *Ibid.*

Hence an anointing after baptism was introduced, and the coming of the Spirit was now assigned to this anointing. The anointing before baptism lost its original meaning and became part of the apotropaic preparatory rites.

This is also reflected in the terminology for the oil. The clearest expression for the complete change of the prebaptismal anointing can be found in Cyril of Jerusalem. After removing their clothing, which is interpreted as the stripping of the old man, the catechumens are anointed with "exorcised oil (*tō elaiō eporkistō*) from top to foot."[60] It is obvious that the prebaptismal anointing is now attached to the exorcistic rites of preparation, and it seems that the apotropaic rites culminate in this anointing.

Let us listen how Cyril interprets baptism proper: "After these things, ye were led to the holy pool . . . as Christ was carried from the cross to the sepulchre which is before our eyes. . . . and [ye] descended three times into the water, and ascended again; here also covertly pointing by a figure at the three-days burial of Christ."[61] The baptismal font, once the womb (or Jordan) now becomes the sepulcher, and the immersion is now a symbolic gesture of Christ's burial in the earth.

The rites of initiation are no longer shaped after the event of the Jordan but follow closely Paul's doctrine of baptism (Rom 6): death to sin (ritualized in the preparatory rites), dying and being buried with Christ (ritualized in the immersion). Although Paul speaks also of the resurrection as the other part of the paschal mystery, the death mysticism at baptism plays the predominant role and in the fourth century this concept eventually became ritualized in the East.

Antioch in the fourth century reflects an intermediary stage between Jerusalem and the Syrian hinterland. Chrysostom, for example, who still does not know of any postbaptismal anointing, calls the oil "spiritual oil" (*elaion pneumatikon*), but also *myron* or "oil of gladness" (*elaion agalliaseōs*),[62] since it is a sign of the final victory over Satan.

In all the writings from the Eastern Church of the fourth century, mainly in those that stem from the Greek-speaking coastal regions of the eastern part of the Mediterranean, the anointing before baptism has changed into a purificatory and apotropaic, or at least

[60] *Mystagogical Catecheses* 2, 3.
[61] *Mystagogical Catecheses* 2, 4 (ed. Cross, 60).
[62] See nn. 30–32 above.

prophylactic, ritual. Sometimes the old name for the oil is still maintained, for example in Theodore of Mopsuestia, but the concept of the prebaptismal anointing was irretrievably changed. The reason for this alteration lies, beyond any doubt, in the considerable change in the concept of baptism as a whole: the entire ritual assumed more and more a predominantly purificatory character.[63] From the fourth century onward the cathartic and apotropaic elements grew to such a proportion that one can, to some extent at least, speak of an estrangement of the original concept of baptism. Nearly every part of the ritual was reshaped with mainly exorcistic elements: besides the daily exorcisms of the catechumen, the oil was exorcised, the anointing assumed an exorcistic character, and even from the baptismal water, which once represented simply the Jordan, the demons were now expelled.

It is beyond the scope of this article to show how much of the original character of baptism as an actualization of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan is still maintained in the Eastern rites of initiation.

[63] I do not believe that Ratcliff's theory (in "The Old Syrian Baptismal Tradition," n. 49 above) is really convincing. All the Eastern liturgies of baptism (with some caution this includes the East Syrian ritual) eventually adopted a postbaptismal anointing. Ratcliff supposes that this innovation was due to the influence of the baptismal liturgy of Jerusalem. Because of topographical reasons — the holy places at Jerusalem reminded people of Christ's Passion — the baptismal font was reinterpreted as the sepulcher of Christ. And since the liturgy of Jerusalem began to follow the sequence of the economy of salvation, an anointing after baptism, with the association of the gift of the Spirit, was adopted. From Jerusalem it eventually spread to other churches.

Nor can I accept Botte's hypothesis as fully satisfactory ("L'onction postbaptismale dans l'ancien Patriarcat d'Antioche," in *Miscellanea Liturgica in onore di Sua Eminenza Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro* 2 [Rome/Paris/New York 1967] 795-808). Botte linked the introduction of the postbaptismal anointing in the East with the acceptance of heretics. If someone outside orthodoxy who had been baptized in one of the heretical communities decided eventually to turn to orthodoxy, he was not rebaptized at this reception but only anointed. This led to the innovation of the postbaptismal anointing.

In my opinion, the reinterpretation of the rites of initiation, that is, mainly of the prebaptismal anointing and the baptism proper, was not brought about through any heterogeneous initiative, nor through "topographical" or "heretical impulses," but because of the inner change of dynamics within the ritual itself. Once baptism moved away from its original essence, being the *mimesis* of the event at the Jordan, and shifted at the same time toward a cathartic principle, it was inevitable that all rites that preceded baptism proper became subordinated to a process of thorough cleansing. The catharsis slowly became an indispensable condition for the coming of the Spirit. Consequently, only after intensive purification and the washing away of sins could the Spirit enter the heart of the baptized.

Here I refer to my study on the Armenian ritual for baptism. The Armenian rite has preserved to a very large extent the archaic features of the third and fourth centuries.

CONCLUSION

In contrast to the West, where the rites that preceded baptism proper never seemed to have any connotation other than a purificatory one, these rites underwent considerable change in the East.

The crucial difference between the East and West springs from which aspect of the New Testament experience of baptism was taken as a basis for the ritualization of baptism in the growing early Church. In the process of ritualization, there was the possibility of stressing either the purificatory aspect, which was already present in the baptism of John the Baptist, or the charismatic elements, which obviously formed the central part of Jesus' descent into the Jordan. Furthermore, explicit reflection and different theological interpretation of the baptismal reality by the main figures of the New Testament played a considerable role. In John 3 this is depicted predominantly as birth event, whereas Romans 6 emphasizes the aspect of dying (to sin), and in the deepest possible reflection of the final aspect of dying, Paul assimilates man's death and dying to Christ's own death.

Whether the West never shaped the baptismal liturgy as a birth ritual but rather developed the cathartic elements right from the beginning remains to be seen. The East, in its earliest ritualization at least, followed closely the event at the Jordan, forming the rites of initiation basically as a birth into the eschatological reality. In the oldest Syriac sources the anointing before the immersion forms the central part of the whole ritual. The gesture of anointing is the ritualization of the entry into the messianic kingship of Christ (the Anointed), which is made known through the coming of the Spirit at this anointing. Let us listen once more to the prayer in the *Acts of Thomas* that is said at the anointing of the head: "Glory to thee, (thou) beloved fruit! Glory to thee, (thou) name of the Messiah! Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power that dwellest in the oil [*mešḥā*]."[64] At another point of the Acts, the prayer at the anointing takes the form of an epiclesis: "Come, holy name of the Messiah

[64] See chap. 132; also n. 35 above.

. . . come, sharer of the blessing, come, revealer of the hidden mysteries . . . come, spirit of holiness . . ." (ch. 27).

In the fourth century, however, the development of the whole baptismal liturgy underwent considerable change, beginning along the coast of the eastern Mediterranean. Slowly the ritual moved through the growing dominance of the preparatory rites, with their emphasis on purification, toward a new interpretation of all rites that preceded baptism proper. The anointing before the immersion, which once formed the very center of the Syriac rites of initiation, became subordinated to the basic cleansing aspect of preparation, losing at the same time its original meaning as true initiation into the messianic kingship. The baptismal font, once seen as womb and also referred to as Jordan, changes now in West Syria and Palestine into sepulcher and grave; the immersion becomes the imitation of Christ's burial and resurrection.

The basic reason for this change is the increasing predominance of cathartic and apotropaic elements in the evolution of the entire baptismal ritual. Purification becomes the fundamental requirement for the coming of the Spirit. Therefore the anointing before baptism, with which the gift of the Spirit was once associated, had to be changed into a prophylactic or cathartic ritual. The descent of the Spirit remains connected with the anointing, but this anointing now follows after the washing away of sins.

The underlying shift from a ritual that once was viewed mainly as a birth event, in accordance with the Johannine interpretation of baptism, toward the reinterpretation of the ritual in line with Paul's theology (Rom 6) can be summarized in the following pattern:

Main theme in the earliest ritualization process of Syria and Armenia:	Main theme in the baptismal rites in Syro-Palestine[65] from the fourth century onward:
introduction into the faith of the Church and requirement of a wholehearted conversion	excessive development of the cathartic and exorcistic rites as preparation
imitation of Jesus' baptism in the Jordan	which culminate in a death mysticism,[66]

[65] In substance, this covers also the Latin and Greek baptismal liturgies.

[66] It seems that particularly in the late fourth century, the East tended toward a reinterpretation of the liturgy in accordance with what I call here "death mysticism." For instance, in the liturgy of the Eucharist the motif of a burial cortège was

with the Johannine concept of rebirth (Jn 3)	taking up Paul's theology: participation in Christ's death (Rom 6)
emphasis lies on the anointing	central part is baptism proper

The reliable guide in our analysis that led to these conclusions was a close investigation of the terminology for the oil and the anointing. We analyzed the different terms in their context and saw how they were used in the earliest Syriac and Armenian sources, comparing these terms with those of Syro-Palestine of the fourth century. So we can hope to have shed some new light on the evolution of the anointings in the rites of initiation and on the basic theme of baptism. The change in this fundamental aspect of baptism in the fourth century found its clearest expression in the alteration of the original meaning of the anointing before baptism.

introduced by the late fourth century writers of Syro-Palestine. Theodore of Mopsuestia, for example, interprets the procession with the gifts by the deacons as follows: "Christ who is now being led out and going forth to his Passion"; for the placing of bread and wine upon the altar, he says: "Thus we may think of him [Christ] placed on the altar as if henceforth in a sort of sepulchre. . . . That is why the deacons who spread linens on the altar represent by this the figure of the linen cloths of the burial" (Homily 15, 24; quoted in R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200 [Rome 1975] 35). Narsai (fifth century) took over this interpretation of the procession: "It is the symbol of his death that they [the deacons] carry in their hands, and when they place it on the altar and cover it, they symbolize his burial. . . . All the priests in the sanctuary represent the apostles who gathered at the sepulchre" (Homily 17, also quoted in Taft, *The Great Entrance* 38–39). Very likely it would be worthwhile to investigate more closely this new stream in the thoughts of the growing Church and the eventual ritualization of the reflections. See also my forthcoming review of Taft's important study on the great entrance in *Oriens Christianus*.

II

EIN BEDEUTSAMER ZUSAMMENHANG ZWISCHEN DER ERKENNTNIS UND RUHE IN MT 11,27-29 UND DEM RUHEN DES GEISTES AUF JESUS AM JORDAN. EINE ANALYSE ZUR GEIST-CHRISTOLOGIE IN SYRISCHEN UND ARMENISCHEN QUELLEN

Der vorliegende Beitrag befasst sich in der Einleitung mit den wichtigsten Quellen zum alt-syrischen Evangelientypus, dann wird auf die unterschiedliche Fassung von Mt 11,29b in der griechischen und syrischen Version hingewiesen, und dabei auch die zwei- und dreigliedrige Textgestalt von Mt 11,29b in den armenischen Zeugen miteinbezogen. Daran schliesst sich der Nachweis eines engen Zusammenhangs zwischen der Verheissung der Ruhe in Mt 11,28-29 und der Tauflehre an, wobei sich herausstellen wird, dass der Ruhebegriff eine zentrale Stellung bei der Darlegung der Taufe einnimmt. Der Ausgangspunkt für die Vorstellung des Ruhens ist der Gottesgeist, der laut armenischem Text von Jh 1,32 auf Jesus ruht. Dies führt zu einer näheren Untersuchung über die in der Taufe Jesu verankerten Geist-Christologie, die die älteste Schicht der Aussagen über Jesus im syrischen und armenischen Raum darstellen dürfte. Von besonderem Interesse sind dabei die Erhebung und Verherrlichung Jesu am Jordan, das Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn (Mt 11,27) bei der Taufe, und der pneumatische Ursprung Jesu im Jordan, wobei der Sohn als der Eingeborene / Erstgeborene bezeichnet wird.

Die Einladung in Mt 11,28-29 zu der von Jesus verheissenen Ruhe bietet in der Pᵉšiṭta mehrere Abweichungen vom griechischen Text, auf die es sich lohnt näher einzugehen. Dabei stellt sich die Frage, ob sich die Abweichungen ebenso in den früheren syrischen Versionen finden, oder ob diese Varianten eine der Pᵉšiṭta eigentümliche Lesart sind. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten war, stiess ich bei der Untersuchung von Mt 11,27-29 auch auf die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Evangelientextes, wobei mir klar wurde, dass die Arbeit an der geschichtlichen Entfaltung des syrischen Neuen Testaments noch lange nicht vor einem Abschluss steht. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich auf eine bisher unbeachtet gebliebene Variante aufmerksam machen, die nicht nur für die Geschichte der Taufe Jesu mit ihren ersten Ansätzen zu einer Geist-Christologie von Belang ist, sondern möglicherweise auch auf die bisherige Deutung des Entwicklungsprozesses des

syrischen Evangeliums einen Einfluss haben könnte. Der besseren Übersicht wegen wäre es gut zunächst kurz die Entwicklung der syrischen Textgestalt des Neuen Testaments zu umreissen.

Die wichtigsten Quellen zum alt-syrischen Evangelientypus

Als ältesten greifbaren Zeugen des syrischen Evangeliums nimmt Vööbus das sog. Hebräer-Evangelium an. Vööbus führt dabei vor allem zwei Tatsachen an: Einmal ist anzunehmen, dass das Judenchristentum für die Entwicklung der syrischen Kirche ausschlaggebend war, zum anderen verweist Vööbus auf bekannte Väterstellen, die auf das Evangelium jener Region eingehen[1]. So lautet z.B. das Zeugnis des Eusebius folgendermassen: «[Hegesippus] legt gewisse Dinge aus dem Hebräer-Evangelium und dem syrischen [Evangelium], und insbesondere vom [Evangelium in] hebräischer Mundart fest»[2]. Epiphanius geht sogar einen Schritt weiter und identifiziert das Hebräer-Evangelium mit dem Diatessaron: «Man sagt, dass das Diatessaron-Evangelium, das von einigen [das Evangelium] nach den Hebräern genannt wird, von ihm [= Tatian] stamme»[3]. Dieses Hebräer-Evangelium, von dem wir ausser einigen erhaltenen Bruchstücken sehr wenig wissen[4], soll also neben den vier Evangelien als Quelle für Tatians Diatessaron gedient haben[5]. Vööbus steht mit dieser Hypothese nicht allein, sie wurde bereits von Plooij und Baumstark verfochten, und ist in C. Peters zusammengefasst worden[6]. Jedoch fand diese These keineswegs einhellig Anklang, denn es wäre ja auch möglich, dass noch andere

[1] Cf. A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac* (= CSCO 128, Subs. 3, Löwen 1951), S. 17-19; zur Kritik cf. A.F.J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Research into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts. Part II: 1949-1969* (= Suppl. to Novum Testamentum 21, Leiden 1969), S. 5f; siehe ebenso A. Baumstark, «Die syrische Übersetzung des Titus von Bostra und das Diatessaron», *Biblica* 16 (Rom 1935), S. 293ff.

[2] Cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* IV,22,8: ... ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν; cf. G. Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire Ecclesiastique* IV (= Sources Chrétiennes 31, Paris 1952), S. 202.

[3] Cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 46,1: ... λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι; PG 41, col. 840.

[4] Siehe dazu die Einführung von Ph. Vielhauer in H. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* I (Tübingen 1968[4]), S. 75-108, insbesondere S. 87, 89-90, 104-108.

[5] Cf. Vööbus, *Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 17-19; s. dazu Klijn, *Survey II*, S. 5ff; Baumstark, «Titus von Bostra», S. 294.

[6] Cf. C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians. Seine Überlieferung und sein Nachwirken im Morgen- und Abendland sowie der heutige Stand seiner Erforschung* (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta 123, Rom 1939), S. 201ff.

Apokrypha in Tatians Evangelienharmonie miteinbezogen wurden[7]. Möglicherweise zirkulierte auch das Thomas-Evangelium unter den ersten Christen Innersyriens[8].

Das Problem des Diatessarons ist neuerdings insbesondere von Quispel nochmals aufgegriffen worden. Quispel versuchte dabei nachzuweisen, dass eine judenchristliche Quelle massgeblich bei der Gestaltung von Tatians Diatessaron beteiligt war[9]. Klijn formulierte hier behutsamer: Tatian benutzte möglicherweise einen Evangelientext, der durch judenchristliche Evangelien beeinflusst war[10]. Metzger, der diese Theorien ausserst zurückhaltend zusammenfasst, ist der Ansicht, dass wohl zu einem sehr frühen Zeitpunkt eine Reihe von Perikopen für liturgische Zwecke ins Syrische übertragen wurde; ob jedoch erst das weitverbreitete Diatessaron (syr: *Evangelion da-meḥalleṭe*) des Tatian[11], oder das Tetra-Evangelium (syr: *Evangelion da-mepharreše*) dabei als Grundlage diente, ist nach wie vor umstritten[12]. Wenn man jedoch bedenkt, in welchem Mass die Vetus Syra von harmonistischen Lesarten durchsetzt ist, kann man sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass dem

[7] Cf. B. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origins, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford 1977), S. 9, 28ff, 35f; Klijn, *Survey II*, S. 5f. Nach G. Messina («Lezioni apocrifi del Diatessaron persiano», *Biblica* 30 (1949), S. 14-14, 25) ist das Proto-Evangelium mit eingeschlossen worden.

[8] Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, *loc. cit.* (cf. Fussn. 7).

[9] Cf. G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden 1975), Idem, *Gnostic Studies* II (Leiden 1975): Beiträge 14-19, 24-25. Dazu sollte die kritische Stellungnahme von Klijn, *Survey II*, S. 8ff, 25-26 herangezogen werden.

[10] Cf. Klijn, *Survey II*, S. 22.

[11] Zum Diatessaron sind folgende wichtige Veröffentlichungen zu konsultieren: guter allgemeiner Überblick in Metzger, *Early Versions*, S. 10-36; Klijn, *Survey II*, S. 4-28; Peters, *Diatessaron*; L. Leloir, *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron* (= CSCO 227, subs. 19, Löwen 1962); Idem, «Le Diatessaron de Tatien», *L'Orient Syrien* 1 (1956), S. 208-231, 313-334; A. Baumstark, J. Rathofer, *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian* (= Niederdeutsche Studien 12, Köln 1964); Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*; D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron: The Liège Manuscript of a Mediaeval Dutch Translation. A Preliminary Study with an Introductory Note by* J. Rendel Harris (Leiden 1923); zur syrischen Textgestalt cf. L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant. Texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)* [= Chester Beatty Monographs 8, Dublin 1963]; Idem, «L'original syriaque du Commentaire de s. Éphrem sur le Diatessaron», *Biblica* 40 (1959), S. 959-970; zur armenischen Version: L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant. Version arménienne* (= CSCO 137, Script. armen. I: *Textus*; 145, Script. Armen. II: *Versio*, Löwen 1953-1954); Idem, *Doctrines et méthodes de s. Éphrem d'après son Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant (Original syriaque et version arménienne)* [= CSCO 220, subs. 18, Löwen 1961]; Idem, *L'évangile d'Éphrem d'après les œuvres éditées. Recueil des textes* (= CSCO 180, subs. 12, Löwen 1958).

[12] Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, S. 8; M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford 1967³), S. 264ff.

Diatessaron wohl die Priorität gegenüber dem alt-syrischen Tetra-Evangelium zuerkannt werden muss[13].

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass das Original des Diatessarons verlorengegangen ist, und sich von Tatians berühmter Evangelienharmonie nur eine Reihe von orientalischen und abendländischen Bearbeitungen erhalten hat. Eine wichtige Rolle kommt dabei zweifelsohne Ephräms Kommentar zum Diatessaron zu, das vollständig nur in Armenisch auf uns gekommen ist[14]. Ein Teil des Kommentars ist jedoch auch im syrischen Original (*Cod. Chester Beatty 709*) erhalten[15]. Ein Vergleich zwischen der armenischen und syrischen Text ergab, dass die syrische Vorlage der armenischen Version einem anderen handschriftlichen Traditionsstrang angehört als die erhaltene syrische Handschrift *Chester Beatty 709*[16].

Ein besonderes Problem für die Textkritik wirft natürlich die Frage der Zuverlässigkeit der Zitate nicht nur des armenischen, sondern auch des syrischen Kommentars auf. Die Möglichkeit einer freieren Wiedergabe aufgrund einer bewussten Adaption an Dinge, die dem Kompilator momentan wichtig waren, liegt bei einem Kommentar besonders nahe. Ephräm scheint dabei keine Ausnahme zu machen[17], und was die armenische Übersetzung des syrischen Texts anbetrifft, muss im Einzelnen sorgfältig überprüft werden, ob nicht an einigen Stellen der Evangelientext bewusst mit der späteren armenischen Textgestalt in Einklang gebracht worden ist[18]. Das gleiche gilt natürlich auch vom syrischen Text.

[13] Cf. M. Black, «The Syriac Versional Tradition», in: K. Aland (Ed.), *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare. Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte* (= Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5, Berlin / New York 1972), S. 125ff; Vööbus, *Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 168.

[14] In 1876 hatte G. Moesinger die lateinische Übersetzung von J. B. Aucher (= Awgerian) übernommen und verbessert: G. Moesinger, *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro in Latinum translata* (Venedig 1876). Leloir besorgte in 1953-1954 eine Ausgabe mit lateinischer Übersetzung: Leloir, *Version arménienne* I (= *Textus*), II (= *Versio*).

[15] Cf. Leloir, *Texte syriaque*; französische Übersetzung ebenso von L. Leloir, *Éphrem de Nisibe. Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant ou Diatessaron. Traduit du syriaque et de l'arménien. Introduction, traduction et notes* (= Sources Chrétiennes 121, Paris 1966).

[16] Cf. «Divergences entre l'original syriaque et la version arménienne du Commentaire d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron», in: *Melanges Eugène Tisserant* (= Studi e Testi 232, Vatikan 1964), S. 303-331; Idem, *Doctrines et methodes*, S. 14-22.

[17] Cf. Black, «Syriac Versional Tradition», S. 122.

[18] Cf. Baumstark, Rathofer, *Tatian*, S. 11: «Da überdies mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden muss, dass die Textzitate des Aphrem-Kommentars bei der Übertragung ins Armenische durch den armenischen Normaltext der Evangelien beeinflusst

Nun ist bei der Evangelienharmonie des Tatian nicht nur die Textgestalt als solche zu bedenken, sondern auch die Reihenfolge der zu einer Einheit zusammengeflochtenen vier Evangelien. So wird es im Einzelfall manchmal auch wichtig sein, die Abweichungen zwischen orientalischen und vor allem auch denjenigen abendländischen Evangelienharmonien zu vergleichen, die nicht mit dem *Codex Fuldensis* übereinstimmen, der deutlich Spuren einer bewussten Angleichung an die Vulgata zeigt.

Die methodisch unzureichenden Veröffentlichungen der arabischen Textgestalt, die für eine textkritische Analyse nahezu unbrauchbar sind, sind von Baumstark einer strengen Kritik unterzogen worden[19]. Die persische Version hat, obwohl sie strukturell gegenüber dem Diatessaron eine grössere Unabhängigkeit zu zeigen scheint, eine Reihe von Lesarten bewahrt, die sicher auf Tatian zurückgehen[20]. Ausser den genannten Quellen sind noch die indirekten Zeugen zu Tatians Diatessaron miteinzubeziehen, so vor allem das patristische Schrifttum Syriens, wie die Thomas- und Johannesakten, Aphrahat, Ephräm, der *Liber Graduum* etc., aber auch armenisches Quellenmaterial, wie z.B. Agathangelos, wobei insbesondere die sog. *Lehre des heiligen Gregor* eine wichtige Rolle spielt.

Die enorme Ausstrahlungskraft, die das Diatessaron auf das frühe Christentum gehabt haben muss, lässt sich nicht nur an den verschiedenen orientalischen, sondern auch an der Mannigfaltigkeit der westlichen Zeugen ablesen[21]. Ja, es scheint, als ob gerade die abend-

wurden, wird man bei Tk [= Kommentar zu Tatians Diatessaron] noch die weitere Anforderung stellen müssen, dass auch mit diesem armenischen Normaltext keine wörtliche Übereinstimmung besteht». Siehe zudem LELOIR, «Le Diatessaron de Tatien», S. 213 (s. auch S. 323-325).

[19] Cf. METZGER, *Early Versions*, S. 14-17; zu MARMARDJI's Ausgabe der arabischen Version in 1935 sollte, wie gesagt, die Kritik von BAUMSTARK in *Oriens Christianus* 38 (1936), S. 235-252 mitherangezogen werden. Die englische Übersetzung von G.H. HILL (*The Earliest Life of Christ ever Compiled from the Gospels, Being the Diatessaron*... [Edinburg 1894]) und H.W. HOGG (*The Diatessaron of Tatian* [= Ante-Nicene Fathers 9, New York 1903⁵], S. 33-138), sowie die deutsche Übertragung von E. PREUSCHEN (*Tatians Diatessaron aus dem Arabischen übersetzt*... [Heidelberg 1926]) folgen der *Editio princeps* von A. CIASCA, *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniae arabice* (Rom 1888). Die lateinische Übersetzung Ciascas ist unbrauchbar, da sie sich bewusst an die Pᵉšiṭta anlehnt.

[20] Cf. G. MESSINA, *Diatessaron persiano*: I. *Introduzione*, II. *Testo e traduzione* (= Biblica et Orientalia 14, Rom 1951); IDEM, *Notizia su un Diatessaron persiano tradotto dal siriaco* (= Bibl. et Orient. 10, Rom 1943); IDEM, «Lezioni apocrifi»; IDEM, «Parallelismi, semitismi, lezioni tendenziose nell'Armonia persiano», *Biblica* 30 (1949), S. 356-376; METZGER, *Early Versions*, S. 17-19.

[21] Folgende Veröffentlichungen sind dabei von Bedeutung: E. RANKE, *Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum latine interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani*

ländischen Quellen besonders ins Gewicht fallen, nicht nur weil hier das Nachwirken des Diatessarons so deutlich greifbar wird, sondern weil sich in einigen seiner Vertreter das Traditionsgut Tatians erhalten hat, während es in den restlichen Versionen durch sekundäre Adaptationen an den Normaltext oftmals ausgeschaltet worden ist.

Das Tetra-Evangelium, oder die Vetus Syra wie es auch bezeichnet wurde, ist nichts anderes als ein Sammelbegriff für mehrere syrische Übertragungen[22], wobei jedoch nur zwei Handschriften jenes alt-syrischen Evangeliums erhalten sind, nämlich die *Codices Curetonianus*[23] und *Sinaiticus*[24]. Die *Demonstrationes* des Aphrahat sind z.B als Zeugnis für das Tetra-Evangelium, aber auch für das Diatessaron, von grosser Bedeutung[25], was vermuten lässt, dass dieser alt-syrische Typus des Evangeliums hauptsächlich in Innersyrien verwendet wurde, wobei sein Ursprung möglicherweise in der antiochenischen Schule zu suchen ist wie Black vermutete[26], ähnlich dem nur etwas später aufkommenden

(Marburg/Leipzig 1868). In der neueren Forschung wird dieser Codex nicht mehr als Archetypus aller westlichen Tatiantexte angesehen; cf. BAUMSTARK, RATHOFER, *Tatian*, S. XIIf, 1-10, *passim*. B. FISCHER («Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache...», in: ALAND, *Die alten Übersetzungen*, S. 47-48) hält jedoch nach wie vor an dem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis fest. Hier muss wohl das Wort eines sachkundige Orientalisten und Kenner des Diatessarons gehört werden: Baumstarks Vermutung dürfte richtig sein, dass hinter der Gruppe der germanischen Harmonietexte eine uns verlorengegangene lateinische Textgestalt greifbar wird, die nicht vom *Codex Fuldensis* abhängig ist, und die dem ursprünglichen Diatessaron nahe zu stehen scheint; cf. BAUMSTARK's Rezension von MARMARDJI in *Oriens Christianus* 38 (1936), S. 245. Siehe ferner: E. SIEVERS, *Tatian. Lateinisch und altdeutsch mit ausführlichem Kommentar* (= Bibl. der ältesten deutschen Litteratur-Denkmäler V, Paderborn 1892²); Ch. GERHARDT, *Diatessarum Theodiscum. Das Leben Jhesu* (= Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi, ser. min. I, Harmoniae evangeliorum IV, Leiden 1970); C. C. DE BRUIN, *Diatessaron Leodiense. Het Luikse Diatessaron. Addita est interpretatio anglica, quam curavit* A. J. BARNOUW (= Corp. Sacr. Script. Neerland. Med. Aevi, ser. min. I: Harmoniae Evang. I, Leiden 1970); M. GOATES, *The Pepysian Gospel Harmony* (London 1922); J.A. SCHMELLER, *Heliand. Poema Saxonicum seculi noni* (München/Stuttgart 1830); V. TODESCO, P.A. VACCARI, M. VATTASSO, *Il Diatessaron in volgare italiano. Testi inediti dei seculi XIII-XIV* (= Studi e Testi 81, Rom 1938); QUISPEL, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, 51-56; METZGER, *Early Versions*, S. 10-36.

[22] Cf. PETERS, *Diatessaron*, S. 29-30.

[23] Cf. F.C. BURKITT, *Evangelion da-mepharreshe: The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels with the Readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the Early Syriac Patristic Evidence*, Volume I: *Text*; II: *Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge 1904); ein guter Überblick zur alt-syrischen Evangelientradition findet sich in METZGER, *Early Versions*, S. 36-48; siehe dazu BLACK, «Syriac Versional Tradition», S. 123-124.

[24] Cf. A. SMITH LEWIS, *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-mepharreshē; Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, Including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other Mss., and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors* (London 1910).

[25] Cf. VÖÖBUS, *Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 42; T. BAARDA, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage I: Aphrahat's Text of the Fourth Gospel* (Amsterdam 1975).

[26] Cf. BLACK, «Syriac Versional Tradition», S. 133.

neuen Typus (der dann als Pᵉšiṭṭa bezeichnet wurde), dessen Anfänge allem Anschein nach im Umkreis von Antiochia zu suchen sind[27]. Als frühesten Quellennachweis für den revidierten Text, der dann später unter dem Namen Pᵉšiṭṭa bekannt wurde, haben nach Vööbus die neutestamentlichen Zitate in den Rekognitionen und Homilien der Pseudo-Klementinen zu gelten[28]. Damit hatte Vööbus die bislang vorherrschende These Burkitts einer direkten Autorschaft Rabbulas für die Pᵉšiṭṭa umgestossen, und den wichtigen Nachweis erbracht, dass bereits zur Zeit Rabbulas eine Überarbeitung der Vetus Syra im Umlauf war, und somit Rabbula nicht als Autor der Pᵉšiṭṭa in Betracht kommen konnte[29]. Wie bei dem alt-syrischen Evangelientext ist auch die Pᵉšiṭṭa nicht das Werk eines Einzelnen, sondern mehrerer Personen gewesen. Zudem ist bei dieser Überarbeitung der Vetus Syra in zunehmendem Mass der griechische Text mit herangezogen worden[30]. Und damit zeichnet sich bei der Entwicklungsgeschichte des syrischen Neuen Testaments zugleich auch der allmähliche Gräzisierungsprozess der syrischen Kirche ab, die bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts als Hüterin des semitischen Erbes angesehen werden kann.

A. Die Ruhe Jesu und die Verheissung der Ruhe (Mt 11,28-29)

Ein ähnliches Prozess einer zunehmenden gräzisierenden Überlagerung eines ursprünglich stärker pneumatisch gefärbten Traditionsstranges lässt sich allem Anschein nach auch bei der Deutung und Umdeutung der Taufe Jesu im Jordan ablesen. Bei der Durchsicht einer der ältesten Evangelientexte Syriens, das Hebräer-Evangelium, von Ephräms Kommentar zum Diatessaron, aber auch bei der Übersetzung einiger Epiphanie-Hymnen, die Ephräm zugeschrieben wurden, und einiger armenischen Quellen, stiess ich nicht nur auf die Vorstellung von der Ruhe innerhalb des Taufkontexts, sondern auch auf Anspielungen auf Mt 11,27-29, was mich zu einer eingehenden Untersuchung der relevanten Quellen führte. Zuerst soll jedoch auf den unterschiedlichen Wortlaut im syrischen und griechischen Text von Mt 11,29b eingegangen werden, der sich als so ausschlaggebend erwies.

[27] So Vööbus, *Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 53.

[28] *Ibid.*, S. 51-52; Idem, «Oldest Traces of the Peshitta», *Le Muséon* 63 (1950), S. 191-204.

[29] Cf. Vööbus, *Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 40-60. Vööbus nach zeigt sich in dem fragmentarisch erhaltenen Schrifttum Rabbulas, dass Rabbula hauptsächlich die Vetus Syra, aber auch das Diatessaron benutzte (S. 64-65).

[30] *Ibid.*, S. 46, 53-55; siehe dazu F.C. Conybeare, «The Growth of the Peshitta Version of the New Testament, Illustrated from the Old Armenian and Georgian Versions», *American Journal of Theology* 1 (1897), S. 883-912.

1. *Die unterschiedliche griechische und syrische Textgestalt von Mt 11,29b*

Für die Untersuchung der Ruhe-Spekulation im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe ist allein die Variante von Vers 29b von Bedeutung, und so werden die anderen Abweichungen von Mt 11,28-29 nur in den Anmerkungen miteinbezogen. Der besseren Übersicht halber stelle ich den griechischen Text dem syrischen gegenüber und füge den Kontext, d.h. Vers 27 hinzu:

Mt 11,27: ... *et nemo cognoscit Filium, nisi Pater*
neque Patrem quis cognoscit, nisi Filius
et cui voluerit Filius revelare.

griech	*syr (Vg)*
28a Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες	28a[31]
οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι	
b κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς	b *et ego qiescere faciam vos* (ܐܢܝܚܟܘܢ)
29a ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς	29a[32]
καὶ μάθετε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ	
b ὅτι πραΰς εἰμι	b *quia quietus*[33] *sum* (ܢܝܚ ܐܢܐ)
καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ	*et humilis sum in corde meo,*
c καὶ εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν	c *et invenietis requiem* (ܢܝܚܐ)
ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν.	*animabus vestris.*

Als Ausgangspunkt für den Vergleich mit dem syrischen Text nahm ich die syrische Vulgata, d.h. die Pᵉšiṭta. Dabei stellte sich die Frage, inwieweit die *syr* Vulgata mit dem Befund in den ältesten syrischen Zeugen übereinstimmt. Nun zeigten die Vetus Syra und das Diatessaron in den von mir näher beleuchteten Passagen über die Ruhe (Vers 28b + 29b-c) keine nennenswerten Abweichungen[34]. Das heisst, die *syr Vg*

[31] Hier sind im Syrischen Varianten, die jedoch für diese Untersuchung nicht weiter von Belang sind. Zu den Abweichungen cf. S. LYONNET, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* (= Biblica et Orientalia 13, Rom 1950), S. 17-20; L. LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament dans l'ancienne tradition arménienne* I A: *L'évangile de Matthieu I-XII* (= CSCO 293, subs. 31, Löwen 1967), S. 159-161; IDEM, *L'évangile d'Éphrem ... Recueil*, S. 24 (nr. 156-157); PETERS, *Diatessaron*, S. 76ff; VÖÖBUS, *Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 187, 193; J. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et exinde excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (= Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia VI, Madrid 1967), S. 75 (nr. 945-949), 237; BURKITT, *Evangelion da-mepharreshe* I, S. 58; A. RESCH, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien* II: *Paralleltexte zu Matthaeus und Marcus gesammelt und untersucht* (= Texte und Untersuchungen 10/2, Leipzig 1894), S. 131-132.

[32] Cf. vorhergehende Anm. sowie MESSINA, «Parallelismi, semitismi», S. 361-362.

[33] Des öfteren ungenau mit *mitis* wiedergegeben, so z.B. bei LELOIR, *L'évangile d'Éphrem ... Recueil*, S. 24 (nr. 156-157, *passim*); besser ist *quietus*.

[34] Zur Vetus Syra cf. BURKITT, *Evangelion da-mepharreshe* I, S. 58; SMITH LEWIS, *Old Syriac Gospels*, S. 27. Beide Handschriften, *Curetonianus* und *Sinaiticus* sind, was die Aussage über die Ruhe betrifft, identisch. Siehe zudem ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Vetus*

hat, was die Aussage über die Ruhe betrifft, den Urtext des Diatessarons, der sich auch in der Vetus Syra widerspiegelt, unverändert übernommen. Mit anderen Worten: Im syrischen Evangelium, gleich ob man dazu das Diatessaron, die Vetus Syra, oder die Pᵉšiṭta heranzieht, wird die Ruhe, die Jesus verheisst, *stets mit der Ruhe in Jesus selbst begründet*:

Vers 28b *ego quiescere faciam vos* ...
29b *quia quietus sum* ...
29c *et invenietis requiem*;

im Gegensatz zum griechischen Text, wo das ἀναπαύειν (= 28b), bzw. ἀνάπαυσις (= 29c) mit πραΰς (= 29b) alterniert:

28b *ego reficiam vos* ...
29b *quia mitis* (πραΰς) *sum* ...
29c *et invenietis requiem.*

Dieser Befund wird noch erhärtet durch das Zeugnis des ältesten Schrifttums. Bei der Durchsicht der Thomasakten[35], von Aphrahat[36] und Ephräm[37] ergab sich zunächst, dass meist nur das Incipit (i.e. Vers 28, in Ephräm auch Vers 27) zitiert wurde; diese Stellen sind also vorläufig nicht ergiebig. Lediglich in den Ephräm zugeschriebenen geschriebenen Kommentaren zum Alten Testament sowie in einem

Evangelium Syrorum, S. 237. Zur Kritik von Ortiz de Urbina cf. R. MURRAY, «Reconstructing the Diatessaron», *Heythrop Journal* 10 (1969), S. 43-49. Leider bietet das persische Diatessaron bei Vers 29b einen verdorbenen Text, der von MESSINA (*Diatessaron persiano*, S. 196/197) geglättet wurde, indem er das Negativ-Präfix bei *ni-y-azmâyid* in ein Imperativ-Präfix (*bi-y-azmâyid*) umänderte, und somit seine italienische Übersetzung *apprendete da me e sperimentate in me* lautet, was wohl nicht ganz zufriedenstellend ist. Wichtiger ist, dass das syrische *quietus et humilis* im Persischen mit *mutawâzi'* und *firo-tan* wiedergegeben wurde; *mutawâzi'* = *submissive, obedient, humble, respectful* (cf. F. STEINGASS, *Persian-English Dictionary* [London 1900], S. 1170), was Messina mit *mite* übersetzt; *firo-tan* = *lowly, humble, submissive* (cf. STEINGASS, S. 923) wird bei Messina als *umile* übertragen. (Hier möchte ich Mr. C. Wakefield (Oxford) für seine Hilfe mit dem Persischen danken.)

[35] Cf. W. WRIGHT, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries with English Translations and Notes* I, S. 252 (= *syr*), II, S. 219 (= *engl*). Das Zitat findet sich in der Unterweisung von Mygdonia, die dann zur Taufe führte. Ein schwacher Nachhall der Verkettung zwischen dem Mt-Zitat und der Taufe findet sich ferner in den *Oden Salomos* 42,8 und im Thomas-Evangelium, log. 96.

[36] Cf. *Demonstratio* XIV,8; zum syrischen Text cf. I. PARISOT, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes* I (= Patrologia Syriaca I/1, Paris 1894), col. 757; armenische Textgestalt: G. LAFONTAINE, *La version arménienne des œuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien* III (= CSCO 423-424, Script. armen. 11-12, Löwen 1980), S. 78 (= *arm*), S. 51 (= *lat*). In Aphrahat ist ausser Vers 28 auch noch 29a und 30 angegeben.

[37] Hier ist Vers 27 miteinbezogen; cf. Ephräms Kommentar zum Diatessaron, LELOIR, *Texte syriaque*, S. 48/49, 50/51. Mt 11,28 findet sich nochmals auf S. 68/69, in diesem Zusammenhang wird auf die Taufe Jesu durch Johannes angespielt.

der Sermones wird der für diese Untersuchung bedeutsame Vers 29b mitangegeben. In den Erläuterungen zum Propheten Zacharias erscheint der Vers in der gewohnten Form des syrischen Evangelientypus: ܕܢܝܚ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܟܝܟ ܐܢܐ (*denn ruhevoll bin ich und demütig bin ich*)[38]. Die Variante im Kommentar zu Isaias (ܕܢܝܚ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܟܝܟ, *denn ruhevoll bin ich und demütig*)[39] ist dabei unbedeutend, während die Abweichung in Ephräms Sermo interessanter ist: ܝܠܦܘ ܡܢܝ ܢܝܚܘܬܐ ܘܩܢܘ ܡܢܝ ܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ (*lernet von mir die Ruhe und erwerbt von mir die Demut*)[40]. Hier sind beide Male die Adjektive in entsprechende Substantive umgeformt worden. Von Bedeutung ist dabei, dass auch hier die in der syrischen Tradition verankerte Vorstellung von der Ruhe in Jesus selbst beibehalten worden ist.

Damit ist bewiesen, dass im Syrischen nicht nur in den verschiedenen Typen des alt-syrischen Evangeliums (Diatessaron, Vetus Syra, *syr* Vulgata) stets die (in Mt 11,29b) von Jesus angekündigte Ruhe mit der Ruhe in Jesus selbst begründet wird, sondern auch durch das Zeugnis der syrischen patristischen Literatur weitgehend abgestützt wird. Mit anderen Worten: In der syrischen Überlieferung lautet generell der Vers 29b von Mt 11: *quia quietus sum*, im Gegensatz zum griechischen *quia mitis sum*. Soweit der griechische und syrische Text. Wie verhält es sich nun mit der armenischen Version?

II. *Die zwei- und dreigliedrige armenische Fassung von Mt 11,29b*

Kürzlich ist von berufener Seite der derzeitige Forschungsstand bezüglich der armenischen Version des Neuen Testaments in einem Überblick zusammengefasst worden[41]. Allgemein wird angenommen, dass

[38] Cf. *In Zachariam* IX,9, *Editio Romana* (*syr*) von J.S.E. Assemani, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri, opera omnia...*, II (Rom 1740), S. 298; Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum*, S. 75 (nr. 951); Leloir, *L'évangile d'Éphrem... Recueil*, S. 24 (nr. 157, die lateinische Übersetzung ist an den griechischen Text angeglichen, indem sie *mitis* anstelle von *quietus* angibt). Im Deutschen wäre das syrische *quietus* mit «ruhig» wiederzugeben. Diese wörtliche Übersetzung würde im Deutschen jedoch falsche Assoziationen hervorrufen, aus diesem Grund übertrage ich *quietus* stets mit «ruhevoll».

[39] Cf. *In Esaiam* XL,1, *Editio Romana* (*syr*) II, S. 90; Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum*, S. 75 (nr. 950); Leloir, *L'évangile d'Éphrem ... Recueil*, S. 24 (nr. 156, die latein. Übersetzung bietet *mitis* anstelle von *quietus*).

[40] Cf. *Sermones* I,7,165; E. Beck (= CSCO 305-306, Script. syr. 130-131, Löwen 1970), S. 98 (= *syr*), S. 131 (= *dt*); *Editio Romana* (*syr*) III (Rom 1743), S. 372; Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum*, S. 75 (nr. 945); Leloir, *L'évangile d'Éphrem ... Recueil*, S. 24 (nr. 155). Hierher gehört auch die Anspielung auf Mt 11,29b im *Liber Graduum* XII,7, cf. M. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum e codicibus syriacis ...* (= Patrologia Syriaca III/1, Paris 1926), col. 301/302.

[41] Cf. L. Leloir, «La version arménienne du Nouveau Testament», in: Aland, *Die alten Übersetzungen*, S. 300-313; siehe dazu H. Lehmann, «Some Questions Con-

die erste Version (= A I) aus einer syrischen Vorlage hervorgegangen ist; umstritten ist lediglich, ob dabei das Diatessaron, oder eine der Vetus Syra nahestehende Textgestalt, oder die Verbindung beider Versionen (i.e. Diatessaron + Vetus Syra) als Grundlage diente[42]. Sicher ist, dass die armenische Vulgata (A II) eine Überarbeitung anhand einer griechischen Vorlage darstellt. Oftmals hat sich gerade in den patristischen Schriften Armeniens die syrische Textgestalt erhalten. Aber auch im heutigen armenischen Neuen Testament, die *arm Vg*[43], kann man hie und da noch Spuren der Praevulgata feststellen, wie gerade bei Mt 11,28-29[44]. Bei Vers 29b folgt die *arm Vg* jedoch nicht einer syrischen, sondern der griechischen Vorlage: *զի հեզ եմ եւ խոնարհ սրտիւ* (= ὅτι πραΰς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ). Im Gegensatz dazu findet sich in den ältesten patristischen Zeugen Armeniens nicht nur die griechische, sondern auch die syrische Textgestalt, so z.B. in der *Lehre Gregors*, die einen wesentlichen Teil der *Agathangeli Historia* ausmacht[45]. In der *Lehre Gregors* § 446 stossen wir über-

cerning the Armenian Version of the Epistle of James», in: LEHMANN (Ed.), *Aarhus Armeniaca* (= Acta Jutlandica 57, Aarhus 1982), S. 57-82; METZGER, *Early Versions*, S. 153-181; Ch. HANNICK, S. BROCK, «Die Übersetzungen ins Armenische», *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (TRE VI,1/2), S. 200-203.

[42] Guter Überblick bei LELOIR, «La version arménienne du Nouveau Testament», S. 300-303. VÖÖBUS (*Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 150-151) äussert sich zurückhaltend über das Diatessaron als erste Vorlage bei der Übersetzung in das Armenische; der Autor legt das Hauptgewicht auf das alt-syrische Tetraevangelium. Dazu müssen jedoch auch folgende Arbeiten konsultiert werden: P. ESAPALEAN (= Essabalian), «*Հայերէն աւետարաններու սկզբնագրի հարցը եւ Ագաթանգեղոսի ու Ղազար Փարպեցւոյ կոչումները*», *Handēs Amsorya* 49 (1935), col. 571-596; 50 (1936), col. 22-40, 185-195, 338-349 (abgekürzt als ESAPALEAN I, II, III, IV); PETERS, *Diatessaron*, S. 72ff; LYONNET, *Origines*; F.C. CONYBEARE, «An Armenian Diatessaron?», *Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1924), S. 232-245; IDEM, «The Growth of the Peshitta Version».

[43] Für die Untersuchung benützte ich die Wiener Ausgabe von 1929 und überprüfte die Bibelzitate mit Zohrabs Ausgabe bei einem Aufenthalt in Oxford: Y. ZŌHRAPEAN (= J. Zohrabian, Zohrab), *Աստուածաշունչ մատեան Հին եւ Նոր կտակարանաց* (Venedig 1805).

[44] Cf. ESAPALEAN I, col. 638f; PETERS, *Diatessaron*, S. 63-83; LYONNET, *Origines*, S. 17-20, 38-39, 78, 87, 111, 118, 124, 126, 161, 170, 229, 254; LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 159ff (nr. 466ff); CONYBEARE, «An Armenian Diatessaron?», S. 233; VÖÖBUS, *Gospel Text in Syriac*, S. 187, 193, 199.

[45] Der volle Titel lautet: *Die Lehre des heiligen Gregor* (*վարդապետութիւն սրբոյն Գրիգորի*). Zum Geschichtswerk des Agathangelos cf. G. WINKLER, «Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its Oriental Versions», *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 14 (1980), S. 125-141; krit. Ausgabe: G. TER-MKRTČEAN, St. KANAYEANC, *Ագաթանգեղայ պատմութիւն Հայոց* (Tiflis 1909; in meiner Untersuchung benütze ich diese Ausgabe); englische Übersetzung von R. W. THOMSON, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary* (Albany 1976); siehe dazu meine Rezension in *The Catholic Historical Review* 65 (1979), S. 312-316; R. W. THOMSON, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism. Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970); siehe dazu die Rezension von S. BROCK in *Journal of Theological Studies*

raschenderweise in Vers 29b auf das syrische *quietus* u n d das griechische *mitis* : զի Հեզ եմ Հանդարտ եւ խոնարհ սրտիւ (*quia mitis sum, quietus et humilis corde*)[46].

Jedoch nicht nur in armenischen Quellen findet sich das besagte Mt-Zitat in der Reihenfolge *mitis* — *quietus* — *humilis*, sondern auch im Hirten des Hermas ist es in der gleichen Abfolge bezeugt. Hier sind die Prädikate gemäss der Hermas eigenen Geist-Christologie[47] indirekt auf den Geist bezogen : ὁ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα ... πραΰς ἐστι καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ταπεινόφρων[48]. In der *Editio Romana* der dem Ephräm zugeschriebenen Werke, die in Griechisch auf uns gekommen sind, ist Mt 11,29b in folgender Form belegt : ὅτι ἥσυχός εἰμι πραΰς καὶ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ[49]. Das ἐπιεικής ist ebenso mehrmals im ersten Klemensbrief und in anderen frühen westlichen Quellen nachweisbar[50].

Was folgt nun aus diesen Varianten? Als erstes, dass das *quietus* (ἡσύχιος/ἥσυχος) allem Anschein nach syrischen Ursprungs ist, während das *mitis* (πραΰς) der griechischen Textgestalt eigen ist. In der armenischen Quelle (Agathangelos) und im Hirten des Hermas, sowie im (griechischen) Ephräm lassen sich die Mischformen *mitis* und *quietus* nachweisen. Resch nahm an, dass ursprünglich das Mt-Zitat aus d r e i Prädikaten bestand : *quietus, mitis, humilis*, und nicht aus zwei Gliedern : *quietus* (o d e r : *mitis*) und *humilis*. Die Übereinstimmung zwischen den armenischen Zeugen (die Resch unbekannt waren) und einer West-

23 (1972), S. 515-517. Die *Lehre Gregors* ist eine wichtige Quelle zur Erschliessung der ersten Unterweisung der Armenier im christlichen Glauben. Obwohl die Kompilation sicher nicht vor dem 5. Jahrhundert angesetzt werden kann, enthält sie bedeutsame archaische Züge der Christologie und Tauflehre neben christologischen Aussagen, die einer späteren Zeit zuzuordnen sind. Die Untersuchung der *Lehre Gregors* von Thomson (siehe ebenso seinen Beitrag, «Early Armenian Catechetical Instruction» in : *Armeniaca* (Venedig 1969), S. 98-108) bietet eine wahre Fundgrube von patristischen Zeugen, insbesondere des griechischen Quellenmaterials. Nun lässt sich die *Lehre Gregors* auch mit dem frühesten syrischen Gedankengut vergleichen, was bereits in den Besprechungen von Brock und mir (*cf. supra*) angedeutet worden ist. Die vorliegende Untersuchung wird zeigen in welchem Ausmass einige Stellen der *Lehre Gregors* von der syrischen Überlieferung abhängig sind.

[46] Cf. TER-MKRTČEAN, KANAYEANC', *Agat'angelay* ... § 446, S. 221; siehe dazu LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 163; THOMSON, *The Teaching*, S. 100 (engl. Übersetzung etwas frei).

[47] F. LOOFS, *Theophilus von Antiochien. Adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenaeus* (= Texte und Untersuchungen 46, Leipzig 1930), S. 185ff.

[48] *Mand.* XI,8; cf. R. JOLY, *Hermas le Pasteur. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (= Sources Chrétiennes 53, Paris 1958), S. 194; siehe ebenso *Mand.* V,2,6 u. VI,2,3; JOLY, *Hermas le Pasteur*, S. 168, 172.

[49] *Editio Romana* (gr) I, S. 149; RESCH, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte* II, S. 134.

[50] Cf. RESCH, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte* II, S. 134.

lichen Quelle, nämlich Hermas, würde zunächst für die Vermutung von Resch sprechen. Jedoch ist festzuhalten, dass in den syrischen Quellen (d.h. in *allen* syrischen Evangelientypen sowie in den syrischen Vätern, nämlich in Aphrahat und in den authentischen Werken Ephräms) bei Mt 11,29b anstelle des *mitis* (πραΰς) stets das *quietus* (ἥσυχος) tritt. So würde ich eher dahin neigen, (1.) eine ursprünglich zweigliedrige Aussage anzunehmen, wobei *mitis* spezifisch griechisch wäre, und das *quietus* aus dem aramäisch-syrischen Traditionsstrang hervorgegangen ist; (2.) dass die Mischform im armenischen Agathangelos, in Hermas und im (griechischen) Ephräm die sekundäre Verkettung des syrischen mit dem griechischen Traditionsgut verrät.

III. *Mt 11,28-29 in der syrischen und armenischen Taufkatechese*

Es ist bereits festgestellt worden, dass bei der Begründung, weshalb Jesus die Ruhe verleihen kann (Vers 29b), im griechischen Text das vorhergehende ἀναπαύειν (Vers 28b) und das nachfolgende ἀνάπαυσις (Vers 29c) nicht wieder verwendet, sondern durch πραΰς ersetzt wurde (Vers 29b), während die syrische Version im gleichen Vers (29b) die Vorstellung von der Ruhe beibehält. So wird in der syrischen Textgestalt, wie gesagt, die Einladung zur Ruhe und die Verheissung dieser Ruhe (Vers 28a-b + 29b) *mit der Ruhe in Jesus selbst begründet*:

28b *ego quiescere faciam vos* ...
29b *quia quietus sum* ...[51]
c *et invenietis requiem.*

Nun haben Wissenschaftler des Neuen Testaments immer wieder behauptet, dass generell der Ruhe-Begriff, und insbesondere die Stelle von Mt 11,28f einer gnostischen Ideenwelt entspringt[52] und dass «dem Neuen Testament diese Vorstellung fast völlig fremd» sei[53].

Der Befund von *syr* Mt 11,29, der die Ruhe in Jesus selbst begründet sieht, scheint zumindest zu einer Modifikation dieser Behauptung einzuladen. Hinzu kommt noch die Tatsache, dass gerade in syrischen (und armenischen) Quellen die Vorstellung von der Ruhe in mannigfacher Weise wiederkehrt, was eine längere Traditionsgeschichte dieses Begriffs innerhalb Syriens vermuten lässt, deren Wurzel nicht gnostisch,

[51] Im Gegensatz zum griechischen *mitis*.
[52] So z.B. M. DIBELIUS, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen 1959³), S. 279-284; Ph. VIELHAUER, *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament* (München 1965), S. 215.
[53] VIELHAUER, *Aufsätze*, S. 215.

sondern semitisch ist[54]. Das in Syrien weit verbreitete Theologoumenon von der Ruhe nimmt in der syrischen und armenischen Tauflehre eine Schlüsselstellung ein. Der Ausgangspunkt für dieses Theologoumenon ist allem Anschein nach in der Geist-Christologie verankert, wie noch zu sehen sein wird.

Die Verheissung der Ruhe in Mt 11,28f findet sich in einer Reihe von syrischen Hymnen, insbesondere in den Ephräm zugeschriebenen Hymnen *De epiphania*. Auffälligerweise ist die Ruhe, unter Einbezug von Mt 11,28-29, aufs engste mit dem Taufgeschehen verbunden. Nicht nur kehren die Schlüsselworte von Mt 11,28-29 in einer Reihe von Epiphanie-Hymnen wieder, sondern der gesamte Gedankenkomplex der Taufe scheint in einem engen Zusammenhang mit Mt 11,28-29 zu stehen, wobei auch Vers 27 (*cf. supra*) miteingeschlossen wird, wie die Gegenüberstellung mit weiteren, ebenso in Syrien beheimateten Quellen noch zeigen wird. Um den Vergleich zu erleichtern, stelle ich *De epiphania* III,7 dem syrischen Text von Mt 11,28-29 gegenüber:

syr Mt 11,28-29	*De epiphania* III,7
28a Kommet zu mir alle ihr Müden...[55]	
b und ich will euch ruhen lassen.	
29a Nehmet mein Joch auf euch und lernet von mir,	
b denn *ruhevoll* bin ich (ܢܝܚ ܐܢܐ)	Die Salbe des *Ruhevollen* (ܕܢܝܚܐ)
und *demütig* bin ich (ܡܟܝܟ ܐܢܐ)	und *Demütigen* (ܘܡܟܝܟܐ)
c und ihr werdet Ruhe finden.	
	macht die Verhärteten ihrem Herrn ähnlich[56].

Dieselben Worte und die gleiche Wortgruppierung (*Ruhe und Demut*) sind in *De epiphania* und in Mt 11,29b verwendet worden. Zudem bezieht sich die Aussage in beiden Texten auf Jesus. So kann wohl

[54] Auch QUISPEL (*Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, S. 82-87, insbesondere 83-84) ist skeptisch gegenüber der weitverbreiteten Ansicht, dass der Begriff der Ruhe gnostischer Herkunft sei.

[55] Cf. Anm. 31.

[56] *De epiphania* III,7; E. BECK (= CSCO 186-187, Script. syr. 82-83, Löwen 1959), S. 147 (= *syr*), S. 135 (= *dt*). Die deutsche Übersetzung lässt jedoch nicht den Zusammenhang mit Mt 11,29 erkennen. Hier muss angefügt werden, dass ܢܝܚܐ ausser der ersten Bedeutung, *Ruhe*, auch noch Nuancen wie «Sanftheit», «Milde» in sich birgt. Von daher ist auch der Gegensatz, «Sanftheit» — «Verhärtete» verständlich. So könnte man auch übersetzen: «Die Salbe des Sanften (bzw. Ruhevollen) ... macht die Verhärteten ihrem Herrn ähnlich».. Aber auch «die Verhärteten» könnte mit «die Bedrückten» wiedergegeben werden: «Die Salbe des Ruhevollen (oder Sanften) macht die Bedrückten (oder Verhärteten) ihrem Herrn ähnlich».

zurecht angenommen werden, dass der Grundgedanke und die Formulierung des Hymnus durch Mt 11 angeregt worden ist.

Eine ähnliche Angleichung an Jesus, dem Ruhevollen und Demütigen (cf. Mt 11,29b) findet sich auch in den Epiphanie-Hymnen III,33 und VII,15. Die 33. Strophe knüpft gedanklich an die bereits zitierte 7. Strophe an:

De epiphania III,33

Der Stein [für die Beschneidung der Israeliten]
kennzeichnete die Verhärteten,
die Salbe [bei der Taufe] kennzeichnet[57] die Reinen.
Den *Ruhevollen* (ܠܢܝ̈ܚܐ) gewährt Er die Salbe der *Ruhe* (ܢܝܚܐ),
den steinernen Herzen hingegen den Stein[58].

Hier wird die Beschneidung des Alten Testaments mit der neutestamentlichen Tauf-Salbung (Salbung bei der Taufe = Beschneidung)[59] verknüpft, und zugleich indirekt Mt 11,29 wiederum in den Taufkontext miteinbezogen. Noch deutlicher klingt in Hymnus VII,15 Mt 11,28-29 an. Die Müdigkeit des Adam und die Verheissung der Ruhe in *De epiphania* VII,15 zeigt mit Mt 11,28f eine auffällige Parallele:

De epiphania VII,15	*syr* Mt 11,28-29
Der *müde* (ܠܐܝܐ) Körper	Kommet zu mir alle ihr *Müden*
findet im Wasser [der Taufe]	(ܠܐ̈ܝܐ) ...,
Reinigung und *Ruhe* von seiner Mühsal.	und ich werde euch *ruhen* lassen ...,

[57] Zur Terminologie von «kennzeichnen» (*signare*) und «Salbe» cf. G. WINKLER, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts* (= Orientalia Christiana Analecta 217, Rom 1982), S. 118, 120, 122-123, 128, 136-137, 143, 160-161, 400 (= *signare*); zum «Salböl» siehe Stellennachweis im Sachregister unter «Salb-Öl»; EADEM, «Zur frühchristlichen Tauftradition in Syrien und Armenien unter Einbezug der Taufe Jesu», *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27 (1978), S. 281-306; EADEM, «The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications: A Study of the Armenian, Syriac, and Greek Terminology for the Oil», *Worship* 52 (1978), S. 24-45.

[58] *De epiphania* III,33; BECK, S. 154 (= *syr*), S. 141 (= *dt*). Bei der deutschen Übersetzung ist der Zusammenhang mit Mt 11,29 nicht erkennbar. Entsprechend der Anm. 56 (*cf. supra*) könnte man auch übersetzen: «Den Sanften (Ruhevollen) gewährt Er die Salbe der Sanftheit (Ruhe) ...».

[59] Die Vorstellung von der Taufe als Beschneidung ist im syrischen Raum weit verbreitet. Selbst das armenische *mkrtem* (ich taufe) scheint etymologisch in einem Zusammenhang mit der Beschneidung zu stehen; cf. G.R. CARDONA, «Armeno *mkrtel* 'battezare' ed un hapax biblico», *Annali. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione Linguistica* 7 (1966), S. 89-100; WINKLER, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 332-333; siehe dazu jedoch H.W. BAILEY, «Iranian *mktk-*, Armenian *mkrtem*», *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 14 (1980), S. 7-10.

Siehe das Waschen [= Taufe]	
in dem verborgen sind :	
Ruhe, und Leben, und Köstlichkeit[60]!	denn *ruhevoll* bin ich und demütig bin ich ...,
In ihm *fand Ruhe der müde Adam*	und *ihr werdet Ruhe finden.*
der die Mühsal in die Schöpfung brachte[61].	

«Die Mühsal, die Adam in die Schöpfung brachte», wird in der Taufe rückgängig gemacht, wie ein anderer Epiphanie-Hymnus zeigt :

De epiphania VIII,13

Siehe, stilles Wasser liegt vor euch!
heiliges und *ruhiges* (ܢܝܚܐ) und duftendes Wasser!
Es ist nämlich nicht das Wasser der Zwietracht,
das den Joseph in die Zisterne warf[62];
noch ist es jenes Wasser des Haders[63]
an dem das Volk haderte
und [Gott] in der Wüste erzürnte,
[sondern] es ist das Wasser
durch das die Versöhnung mit dem Himmel hergestellt wird[64].

Auch Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar fügt sich hier gut ein. Kap. XVI,12 bildet einen Teil der Erläuterung zu Jh 3,3-13 (= das Gespräch Jesu mit Nikodemus). Die Geburt aus dem Wasser und dem Geist (Jh 3,5) gab die theologische Grundlage für den syro-armenischen Tauftypus, wie in mehreren Veröffentlichungen nachgewiesen wurde[65]. Im Diatessaron-Kommentar erklärt Ephräm, dass die Taufe bereits im Alten Testament vorgezeichnet war, und dass Nikodemus dies offensichtlich nicht begriffen hatte. Ephräm weist dann auf die «sanfte und demütige» (*mitis et humilis*, cf. Mt 11,29b)[66] Stimme Jesu, die Nikodemus heilt :

[60] Der Plural von ܢܝ̈ܚܐ ist wohl aus der Angleichung an die Pluraliatantum von «Leben» (ܚܝ̈ܐ) und «Köstlichkeit» (ܒܣ̈ܡܐ) hervorgegangen.

[61] Cf. (Gen 3,17) *De epiphania* VII,15; Beck, S. 165 (= *syr*), S. 153 (= *dt*); siehe dazu Anm. 58 sowie *De virginitate* IV,9; E. Beck (= CSCO 223-224, Script. syri 94-95, Löwen 1962), S. 15 (= *syr*), S. 15 (= *dt*).

[62] Cf. Gen 37,24.

[63] Cf. Num 20,13.

[64] *De epiphania* VIII,13; Beck, S. 172 (= *syr*), 159 (= *dt*).

[65] Cf. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 77, 162, 211, 424-425, 427-430, 434, 443-446, 448, 462; Eadem, «Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier. Ihre Affinität mit syrischem Gedankengut», in : H. Becker (Ed.), *Festschrift Walter Dürig* (München 1983); Eadem, «The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing», S. 44-45; Eadem, «Zur frühchristlichen Tauftradition», S. 281-283, 293-294; A. Mouhanna, *Les rites de l'initiation dans l'Église maronite* (= Χριστιανισμός 1 und Orientalia Christiana Analecta 212, Rom 1978/1980); siehe dazu meine Rezension in *Oriens Christianus* 65 (1981), S. 227-228.

[66] Hier ist der Text von (*arm*) Mt 11,29b an die *arm Vg* angeglichen worden.

(*arm*) *Diatessaron-Kommentar* XVI,12[67]

Und [Jesus] heilte seine Krankheit
anhand seiner *sanften und demütigen* (*հեզ եւ խոնարհ*) Stimme[68],
und erinnerte ihn an die Taufen der Aussöhnung
die es in Israel gab.

An anderer Stelle (cap. X,15) folgt nach der Erklärung von Mt 11,27 und dem Zitat von Vers 28 (*Venite … et ego quiescere faciam vos*)[69]: *Et quia stillavit in aures eorum vocem requiei* (syr.: ܩܠܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ, arm: *բարբառն հանգստեան*) *cucurrerunt post eum multi*[70].

Der Hinweis auf die Stimme Jesu im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe im Jordan findet sich auch in der armenischen Wasserweihe an Epiphanie[71], wobei interessanterweise ebenso das Matthäus-Zitat einbezogen wird:

... Jedoch Dein gütiger Eingeborener sagte,
indem Er mit süsser Stimme rief:

Kommet zu mir alle
die ihr euch abmüht und belastet seid[72]
und ich werde euch ruhen lassen (Mt 11,28b)
mit süssem Joch und geringer Last (cf. Mt 11,30).

Und Er sammelte alle in seiner Güte
[und] führte [sie] in den Jordanfluss...

Dort [wurde Er] Dein Geoffenbarter, Vater,
als Du seine Gottheit Ihm zuriefst[73]:
«Dies ist mein Sohn, der Geliebte»;

[67] Cf. Leloir, *Version arménienne*, S. 228 (= *arm*), S. 164.

[68] Der syrische Text zeigt hier folgende Abweichung: ܩܠܗ ܡܟܝܟܐ ([*per*] *vocem suam humilem*; cf. Leloir, *Texte syriaque*, S. 174/175.

[69] *Ibid.*, S. 50/51. Leloir übersetzt die kausative Verbform mit *reficiam*; *quiescere faciam* (*vos*) entspricht jedoch besser dem syrischen ܐܢܝܚܟܘܢ. Das Armenische folgt in der Übersetzung der kausativen Verbform des Syrischen, jedoch steht hier das Verb im Präsens: *quiescere facio*; cf. Leloir, *Version arménienne*, S. 141 (= *arm*), S. 102 (= *lat*; Leloir übersetzt *reficio*); siehe ebenso Anm. 82 u. 163.

[70] Cf. Leloir, *Texte syriaque*, S. 50/51; das Armenische weicht vom Syrischen (*cucurrerunt*) ab: *currentes abierunt*; cf. Leloir, *Version arménienne*, S. 102 (= *arm*), S. 102 (*lat*).

[71] Der Titel des Gebets lautet: *Օրհնութիւն ջրոյ. զոր ասացեալ է սրբոյն Բարսղի կեսարացւոյ* (*Die Weihe des Wassers, die dem heiligen Basilius zugeschrieben ist*). Dieses Gebet, das wohl fälschlich Basilius zugeschrieben wurde, geht offensichtlich auf einen syrischen Traditionsstrang zurück. Ich benütze das Lektionar (*Ճաշոց*) von Jerusalem 1873; eine Photokopie des armenischen Texts wurde mir freundlicherweise von Erzbischof Torkom Manoogian zugänglich gemacht, wofür ich ihm danken möchte.

[72] *աշխատեալք եւ բեռնաւորք*; cf. Mt 11,28a (*arm Vg*): *վաստակեալք եւ բեռնաւորք*.

[73] *անդ յայտնեալ քո՛ աստուածութիւն իւր, Հայր, կարդալով առ նա.*

und der Geist [ist] erstrahlt (լուսափայլ) [74]
durch die Herabkunft in Taubengestalt...

Allem Anschein nach gehören alle angeführten Zeugen einem gemeinsamen Traditionsstrang an, dessen Ursprung in Syrien ist. Aus den bislang angeführten Quellen geht zudem folgendes hervor : (1) der enge Zusammenhang zwischen Mt 11,28-29 und der Taufe, (2) dass die Verheissung der Ruhe einen wichtigen Platz in der Lehre über die Taufe einnimmt, (3) dass die ursprüngliche syrische Lesart von Mt 11, 29b offensichtlich *quietus* (und nicht *mitis* wie im griechischen Text) ist, wobei in den armenischen Zeugen Vers 29b oftmals an den griechischen Text angeglichen wurde.

Ob darüber hinaus hinter Mt 11,28-29 innerhalb der aramäisch-syrischen Gruppen ein äusserst archaischer Traditionsstrang vermutet werden kann, der Mt 11,28-29 generell in einen Taufkontext rücken würde, von dem die bislang angeführten Zeugen noch einen schwachen Nachhall geben, muss im Verlauf dieser Untersuchung noch geklärt werden. Es wäre immerhin denkbar, dass im syrischen Raum zu einem sehr frühen Zeitpunkt eine Sammlung von Logia für liturgische Zwecke zusammengestellt wurde, wobei Mt 11,28-29 in einen Zusammenhang mit der Taufe (Jesu, und im Anschluss daran auch mit der Taufe in diesen Gemeinden) gesehen wurde.

Die Verknüpfung der Taufe mit der Vorstellung der Ruhe findet sich nicht nur in den Epiphanie-Hymnen und im Diatessaron-Kommentar, sondern auch in früheren, ebenso in Syrien beheimateten Quellen [75], und in armenischen Dokumenten. Wenden wir uns zunächst dem armenischen Befund zu.

Welche enorme Bedeutung diese ursprünglich auf syrischem Boden erwachsenen Tauftheologie der Verheissung der Ruhe für die armenische Frühkirche einstmals hatte, lässt sich an den Aussagen über die Taufe in der *Lehre Gregors* (die älteste armenische Taufunterweisung, die auf uns gekommen ist) [76] ablesen. Die Taufkatechese, die in der Taufe Jesu begründet ist [77], nimmt innerhalb der *Lehre Gregors* einen äusserst

[74] Hier heisst es, dass das Licht (— in լուսափայլ verbirgt sich լոյս / Licht —) vom *Geist* ausgeht. Diese Stelle gehört sicherlich zu der in Syrien beheimateten Überlieferung, nach der Feuer oder Licht bei der Taufe Jesu im Jordan erscheint. Die Licht- oder Feuererscheinung bei der Taufe ist jedoch entweder mit Jesus oder dem Jordan verbunden; *cf. infra* Anm. 146 u. 196.

[75] Cf. Anm. 35. Zu den Thomasakten siehe zudem A. F. J. KLIJN, *The Acts of Thomas. Introduction, Text, Commentary* (= Supplement to Novum Testamentum 5, Leiden 1962), *cap.* 60, 83, 86; S. 97, 108, 109, 110, sowie den Kommentar auf S. 264, 266, 267.

[76] Cf. Anm. 45.

[77] Was sich bei der Taufe Jesu im Jordan ereignete, findet ein getreues Abbild in

breiten Raum ein. Sie erstreckt sich von Paragraph 407-446, was die hervorragende Stellung, die die Taufe in der Frühkirche Armeniens einst einnahm, beweist. Sieht man nun den armenischen Text der *Lehre Gregors* aufmerksam durch, so entdeckt man, dass Mt 11,27-30 (d.h. die Gedankenkette des Erkennens und Ruhens) einen wichtigen Platz bei der Erläuterung der Taufe einnimmt. Es ist sicher nicht von ungefähr, dass die Taufkatechese mit dem Mt-Zitat einsetzt (cf. § 407) und auch ausklingt (§ 446). In § 446 bildet Mt 11,28-30 das Kernstück der Taufunterweisung:

Lehre Gregors § 446

1 ... sich zu erneuern befahl Er [= Jesus],
2 sowie den alten Menschen[78] abzulegen
3 mittels des Taufbrunnens.

4 Denn selbst wenn jemand auch äusserst *ermattet* [und] *belastet* wäre [cf. Mt 11,28][79],
5 geschwängert mit schwer drückenden Sünden,

6 wie es heisst:
7 Siehe, sie gebar Gottlosigkeit
8 sie ward schmerzgeschwängert
9 und sie gebar Missetat [Ps 7,15].

10 Indem Er [= Jesus] jedoch die Tore der Busse öffnet
11 [und] in unsere Mitte kommt
12 weilt er [bei uns] als Lebendigmacher[80]

der christlichen Taufe, wie die *Lehre Gregors* §§ 446, 409, 471, 420 deutlich zeigt. Die Taufe Jesu bildet generell den Archetypus der christlichen Taufe; cf. WINKLER, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 77, 143, 153, 155, 170-171, 209, 211, 425, 428-429, 432, 434-442, 444-448, 461-462. Im maronitischen Taufordo hat sich sogar eine enge Verbindung zwischen der Taufe und Mt 11,28 erhalten. Ich zitiere den Text nach MOUHANNA, *Les rites de l'initiation*, S. 28: «Béni es-tu, Seigneur, Dieu, Ami des hommes, qui as appelé à toi ceux qui sont accablés de maux, en disant: 'Venez à moi, vous tous les fatigués, qui portez des lourds fardeaux, et moi, je vous donnerai le repos' ... (cf. Mt 11,28)». Siehe dazu auch Text zu Anm. 71-73.

[78] Wörtlich: «Menschheit».

[79] *զի թէպէտ եւ կարի որ թմբրեալ ծանրածեալ իցէ*; cf. Mt 11,28 sowie die Varianten dazu in den frühen armenischen Quellen: LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 161f.

[80] «Lebendigmacher» (*կենարար*) anstelle von «Erlöser» (*փրկիչ*) kehrt in der *Lehre Gregors* des öfteren wieder, so z.B. in § 471; in § 834 als *կենդանարար* (= *կենարար*) kombiniert mit *փրկիչ*; als Adjektiv findet es sich in §§ 410, 420; als Verb in § 415. «Lebendigmacher», «lebendigmachen» ist eine charakteristisch syrische Lesart von σωτήρ, σώζω; cf. J. MOLITOR, *Grundbegriffe der Jesusüberlieferung im Lichte ihrer orientalischen Sprachgeschichte* (Düsseldorf 1968), S. 15-34; siehe ebenso BAUMSTARK in *Oriens Christianus* 38 (1936), S. 240: Baumstark führt diese Lesart auf Tatians Diatessaron zurück; WINKLER, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 126, 191, 457. Das Vorkommen von «Lebendigmacher» und «lebendigmachen» in armenischen patristischen

13 [und] er ruft und sagt:
[Mt 11,28-30:]
14 Kommet zu mir alle
15 die ihr euch plagt (*վաստակեալք*) und abmüht (*աշխատեալք*),
16 und die ihr schwere Lasten (*բեռինս ծանունս*) habt[81]
17 und ich lasse euch ruhen (*եւ ես հանգուցանեմ զձեզ*)[82];
18 und nehmet mein Joch auf euch
19 und lernet von mir,
20 denn ich bin *sanftmütig* (*հեզ*), *ruhevoll* (*հանդարտ*) *und demütig* (*խոնարհ*),
21 und ihr werdet Ruhe finden für eure Seelen,
22 denn mein Joch ist süss und meine Last leicht[83].

Die dreigliedrige Form von Mt 11,29b (= Zeile 20) ist bereits besprochen worden. Dabei wurde klargemacht, dass das *quietus* (*հանդարտ*) syrischen, und das *mitis* (*հեզ*) griechischen Ursprungs ist[84]. Zeile 20 stellt also eine Mischform dar, während in § 409 die griechische Textgestalt von Mt 11,29b greifbar wird:

Lehre Gregors § 409

1 Und indem gleichfalls Johannes kam
2 wusch er das Volk mit der Busse,
3 damit sie, wenn der Gottes-Sohn erschiene,
4 als in Würdigkeit trefflich Vorbereitete (*պատրաստագոյնք*),
5 seiner Lehre ein williges Ohr leihen würden
6 um in [ihren] Herzen einen Weg (*ճանապարհ*) bahnen,
7 damit sie in [ihrer] *sanftmütigen und demütigen* (*ի հեզ եւ ի խոնարհ*) Herberge
8 den Allherrscher empfangen können[85].

Dass die auf dem Mt-Zitat beruhende Taufkatechese eine vorrangige Stellung einnimmt, daran kann kein Zweifel bestehen: So wie Jesus «ruhevoll» (bzw. «sanftmütig» = *griech* 29b) war, so wird bei der Bekehrung das Herz des Menschen zu einer «sanftmütigen und demütigen» Herberge, um «den Allherrscher» zu empfangen (Zeile 7-8)[86].

Quellen Armeniens und der Taufliturgie beweist, dass die erste Missionierung Armeniens von Syrien ausgegangen ist.

[81] Auch hier folgt der Text einer syrischen Vorlage; zum Quellennachweis cf. Anm. 31.

[82] Cf. LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 163; die lateinische Übersetzung von *հանգուցանեմ* ist nicht ganz präzis: *հանգուցանեմ* ist ein kausatives Verb, das der syrischen Afʿelform ܐܢܝܚ entspricht, und lateinisch besser mit *quiescere facio* anstelle von *reficio* wiedergegeben wird. Dem *reficio* würde im Armenischen in etwa *հանգչիմ* entsprechen; siehe ebenso Anm. 69 u. 163.

[83] Cf. TER-MKRTČEAN, KANAYEANCʿ, *Agatʿangelay* ..., S. 221; ziemlich freie englische Übersetzung bei THOMSON, *The Teaching*, S. 100.

[84] Cf. *supra*, Text zu Anm. 46-50.

[85] Cf. TER-MKRTČEAN, KANAYEANCʿ, *Agatʿangelay* ..., S. 204.

[86] Cf. *De epiphania* I,8: «... bereitet den Weg, damit Er eintrete, Wohnung nehme in euren Herbergen»; BECK, S. 145 (= *lat*), S. 132 (= *dt*).

Auch die Vorbereitung durch Johannes dem Täufer verdient in diesem Kontext noch hervorgehoben zu werden. Er ist es, der die Taufe vorbereitet. Ein ähnlicher Sinnzusammenhang wie in dem eben zitierten Abschnitt der *Lehre Gregors* findet sich auch in Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar, wobei wiederum Mt 11,29b eine wichtige Funktion einnimmt:

(*arm*) *Diatessaron-Kommentar* IX,14[87]

Und wenn [schon] Johannes hochgerühmt wurde,
dass er den Weg (*ճանապարհ*)
vor Seiner *sanftmütigen und demütigen* (*հեզ եւ խոնարհ*) [88]
Ankunft vorbereitete (*պատրաստեաց*),
wieviel mehr werden [dann] die Apostel hochgerühmt werden ...

Die armenischen und syrischen Quellen stimmen darin überein, dass Mt 11,29b eine Schlüsselstellung innerhalb der Taufkatechese zukommt. Wie sehr der *Lehre Gregors* hier syrisches Traditionsgut zugrunde liegt, wird auch an anderen Stellen der *Lehre Gregors* deutlich, so z.B. in § 406:

Lehre Gregors § 406[89]

1 ... lasst uns froh sein in unserer Erlösung,
2 die durch Ihn [= Jesus] die Wege (*ճանապարհք*) der Verkündigung geöffnet [hat]:
3 [die Wege] ihres Lebens, Lichts, der Güte, der *Ruhe* (*կենացն լուսոյ բարեաց հանգստեան*) ...

Zeile 3 zeigt eine gewisse Parallele mit den Ephräm zugeschriebenen Epiphanie-Hymnen (Zeile 3):

De epiphania VII,15[90]

1 Siehe das Waschen [= die Taufe]
2 in dem verborgen sind:
3 *Ruhe* (ܢܝܚܐ) und Leben (ܚܝܐ) und Köstlichkeit (ܒܣܝܡܘܬܐ)

Hinter der armenischen *Lehre Gregors* und den syrischen Epiphanie-Hymnen dürfte eine gemeinsame syrische Quelle stehen. Cramer formuliert hier wohl ein wenig überspitzt: «Eine Angabe von Beispielen erübrigt sich» bei den «für das gesamte syrische Christentum so wesentlichen Heilsgüter[n:] Leben, Freude und Ruhe»[91].

[87] Cf. LELOIR, *Version arménienne*, S. 127 (= *arm*), S. 92 (= *lat*).
[88] Syr: *adventum eius humilem*; cf. LELOIR, *Texte syriaque*, S. 28/29.
[89] Cf. TER-MKRTČEAN, KANAYEANC', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 202-203.
[90] Cf. BECK, S. 165 (= *syr*); zur Erläuterung cf. Anm. 60.
[91] Cf. W. CRAMER, *Der Geist Gottes und des Menschen in frühsyrischer Theologie* (= Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie 46, Münster 1979), S. 34 (siehe auch S. 37).

An einer anderen Stelle der *Lehre Gregors* wird Jesus, der «die Ruhe» offenbart, indirekt mit Moses verglichen, und dabei wird zugleich auf Mt 11,29b angespielt :

Lehre Gregors § 407[92]

1 ... Indem Er [= Jesus] wie ein Mensch niedrig (*խոնարհ*) [93]
2 und mehr als alle Menschen *sanftmütig und demütig* (*հեզ եւ խոնարհ*) erschien,
3 und die *Ruhe* (*հանգարտութիւն*) zeigte
4 durch Geduld in den Trübsalen, die [Er] im Fleische [annahm] ...

In Zeile 2 wird die Gestalt Moses greifbar, denn in Num 12,3 heisst es von ihm nach der *arm Vg* : «Und der Mann Moses war *sanftmütig* (*հեզ*), *weit mehr als alle Menschen*, die auf Erden waren». Was von Moses gilt, wird auch von Jesus gesagt, wobei die Aussagen interessanterweise in das bekannte Mt-Zitat übergehen (*arm Vg* Mt 11,29b) : «... ich bin *sanftmütig und demütig* (*հեզ եւ խոնարհ*)». So stellt Zeile 2 strukturell eine Verbindung von Num 12,3 und Mt 11,29b dar, inhaltlich eine Assoziation zwischen Moses und Jesus.

Die Verbindung von Num 12,3 und Mt 11,29b (unter Einbezug von Ps 132 [131],1) findet sich ebenso in Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar. Ich zitiere die betreffende Stelle nach der armenischen Version, da sich im syrischen Text eine Lücke findet.

(*arm*) *Diatessaron-Kommentar* VI,1 (die Bibel-Zitate haben dabei folgende Textgestalt :)

Num 12,3 : *sanftmütiger* (*հեզ*) war Moses als alle Söhne seines Volkes
Mt 11,29b : denn *sanftmütig bin ich und demütig* (*հեզ եմ եւ խոնարհ*)
Ps 131,1 : gedenke ... Herr, Davids und all seiner *Sanftmut* (*հեզութիւն*). [94]

Nun ist dies nicht alles, was sich zu § 407 der *Lehre Gregors* sagen lässt. In Zeile 2 (= die gedankliche Verbindung mit Mt 11,29b) folgt der armenische Text durch das *mitis* (*հեզ*) nicht der syrischen, sondern der griechischen Textgestalt. Wir erinnern uns, dass *syr* 29b *quietus* anstelle von *mitis* bietet. Nun wird jedoch auf die Ruhe gesondert (in Zeile 3) hingewiesen, und damit wird das Ruhen besonders hervorgehoben : «indem Er [= Jesus] ... die *Ruhe* (*հանգարտութիւն*) zeigte». Es liegt hier also eine dreigliedrige Form von Mt 11,29b vor, wobei

[92] Cf. Ter-Mkrtč'ean, Kanayeanc', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 203. Thomson (*The Teaching*, S. 87) gibt eine freie englische Übersetzung, versehentlich ist auch «die Ruhe» ausgelassen worden.

[93] *խոնարհ* hat die Bedeutung von «niedrig» und «demütig», siehe nächste Zeile (2).

[94] Cf. Leloir, *Version arménienne*, S. 71 (= *arm*), S. 53 (= *lat*); syrischer Text *lacuna* (cf. *infra* Anm. 113).

der *requies* (*հանգստութիւն*, Zeile 3) gegenüber dem *mitis et humilis* (*հեզ եւ խոնարհ*, Zeile 2) ein besonderes Gewicht verliehen wird.

Nicht nur Num 12,3 wurde gedanklich mit Mt 11,29b verkettet. In der syrischen Überlieferung finden sich die Schlüsselworte *quietus et humilis* auch in Is 66,2; und der *Liber Graduum* verbindet dabei Is 66,2 ebenso mit Num 12,3 :

Liber Graduum XXI,12

1 *Requies mea*
2 *est quietus*[95] *et humilis spiritu*
3 *quem respiciam et in quo habitem*; (cf. Is 66,2)
4 *et ipse per me ascendet*
5 *quando ascendero ego*
6 *in locum requiei meae.* (cf. Is 66,1)
7 *Porro dixit Deum elegisse Moysem*
8 *quia humilior erat omnibus hominibus.* (cf. Num 12,3)[96]

Das *quietus et humilis* von Is 66,2 ist gut bezeugt, denn es lässt sich an mehreren Stellen im *Liber Graduum* nachweisen[97]. Diese Schlüsselworte finden sich auch in Aphrahats *Demonstrationes*, wobei die armenische Version die Textgestalt von Is 66,2 an den Normaltext der *arm Vg* angeglichen hat. Dies lässt sich am besten aus einer Gegenüberstellung ersehen :

Demonstratio VI,17

syr Text[98]	*arm* Version[99]
1 *Christus ... apud*	*Christus in*
2 *quietos et humiles habitat ...*	*mitibus et in humilibus habitat...*
3 *iuxta prophetae verbum* (Is 66,2) :	*sicut et ait propheta* :
4 *Ad quem respiciam et apud quem habitabo*	*Ad quem respiciam et habitabo*
5 *nisi apud quietos et humiles.*	*nisi apud mites et apud humiles*[100].

[95] Cf. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, col. 617/618; Kmosko übersetzt, anstelle von *quietus* nicht ganz genau : *mitis*.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] z.B. I,2 : *ad quem respiciam et morabur, nisi in quieto et humili spiritu* (Kmosko übersetzt anstelle von *quieto* : *mansueto*); XI,1 : ... *quia horum ope ero quietus et humilis spiritu* (Kmosko übersetzt wiederum anstelle von *quietus* : *mansuetus*); Kmosko, *op. cit.*, col. 13/14, 273/274.

[98] Cf. Parisot I, col. 303/304.

[99] Cf. G. Lafontaine, *La version arménienne* II (= CSCO 405-406, Script. armen. 9-10, Löwen 1979), S. 29 (= *arm*), S. 17 (= *lat*).

[100] Bei Zeile 5 ist noch festzustellen, dass Is 66,2 in der LXX umgestellt ist : ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον. In der armenischen Version von Is 66,2 ist das Isaias-Zitat, wie gesagt an den Normaltext angeglichen worden : *ի հեզս եւ ի խոնարհս* (*in den Sanftmütigen und in den Demütigen*). Die Textgestalt von *հեզ եւ խոնարհ* (*mitis et humilis*) findet sich

Zu Zeile 4 ist noch anzumerken, dass Is 66,2 in der armenischen Bibelkonkordanz[101] folgendermassen lautet : « Und wo *werde ich ruhen* (*հանգեայց*) ». In zwei Handschriften von *(arm) Demonstratio* VI,17 ist Is 66,2 ebenso nach diesem Wortlaut zitiert[102]. Diese Lesart von Vers 2a ist an sich folgerichtig, denn in Vers 1 von Is 66 ist ebenso von der Ruhe die Rede :

(arm) Is 66,1-2

(1) Was für ein Haus habt ihr mir gebaut, spricht der Herr,
oder was wäre ein Ort der *Ruhe* (*հանգստեան*) für mich;
(2) ... und wo *werde ich ruhen* (*հանգեայց*).

Nicht nur in Aphrahat kehren diese Schlüsselworte wieder, sondern auch in Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar. Da der syrische Text an dieser Stelle eine Lücke aufweist, kann nur die armenische Textgestalt herangezogen werden. Dabei erscheint das Mt-Zitat jedoch in gekürzter Form; zudem ist der Text an den (griechisch beinflussten) Normaltext der *arm Vg* angeglichen worden :

(arm) Diatessaron-Kommentar VI,24[103]

Wo, sagt er [= der Prophet],
werde ich hinblicken und wohnen? (Is 66,2a)
Nur in den *Sanftmütigen* (*հեզս*) im Herzen. (cf. Mt 11,29b)

In einem anderen, ebenso Ephräm zugeschriebenen Evangelien-Kommentar, der nur in Armenisch erhalten ist[104], wird bei der Erläuterung des wahren Hirten, der seine Schafe zur Ruhe führt, Ez 34, 15.23 zitiert :

Evangelien-Kommentar § 53[105]

Ich werde meine Schafe hüten
und *werde* sie *ruhen lassen* (*հանգուցից*) ... (cf. Ez 34,15)
Und ich werde über sie erheben [und] setzen
einen Hirten, meinen Diener David;
und er wird sie hüten

ebenso in *(arm Vg)* Sophonia 3,12 : «Ich werde dir ein *sanftmütiges und demütiges* (*Հեզ եւ խոնարհ*) Volk lassen». (LXX : πραΰν καὶ ταπεινόν).

[101] *Համաբարբառ Հին եւ Նոր կտակարանաց* (Jerusalem 1895), S. 875/col. 3.

[102] Cf. LAFONTAINE, *La version arménienne* II, S. 29 (= *arm*), S. 17 (= *lat*).

[103] LELOIR, *Version arménienne*, S. 85 (= *arm*), S. 63 (= *lat*).

[104] Dieses Kommentar schliesst sich an das Diatessaron-Kommentar an; cf. G.A. EGAN, *Saint Ephrem : An Exposition of the Gospel* (= CSCO 291-292, Script. armen. 5-6, Löwen 1968), S. 1 (= *engl*).

[105] *Ibid.*, S. 39-40 (= *arm*), S. 36 (= *engl*). Der Wortlaut von beiden Ezechiel-Zitaten stimmt nicht genau mit *arm Vg* überein.

und *er wird* sie *ruhen lassen* (հանգուսցէ),
und er wird ihr Hirte sein. (cf. Ez. 34,23)

Interessanterweise fehlt in der *arm Vg* (und in der Bibel-Konkordanz) die Aussage über die Ruhe in Ez 34,23 (während sie sich in Vers 15 nachweisen lässt).

Zusammenfassend lässt sich aufgrund der Analyse von Is 66,2 und Ez 34,15.23 sagen, dass die Ruhe-Spekulation allem Anschein nach bereits in einem Traditionsstrang des Alten Testaments vertreten ist, und offensichtlich Bedeutung hat.

Aber auch in der intertestamentlichen apokryphen Literatur lässt sich die Bedeutung des Ruhe-Konzepts nachweisen, so z.B. im *Testament von Levi*. Nach Hultgård ist der Ursprung des *Testaments der zwölf Patriarchen* in das letzte Jahrhundert v. Chr. im Norden Palästinas anzusetzen; die Textgestalt, so wie sie vorliegt, ist jedoch in der christlichen Zeitrechnung zu einem Abschluss gekommen[106]. Die armenische Version ist besonders wichtig, da sie dem Urtext am nächsten kommt[107]. Hier ist der armenische Textzeuge des *Testaments von Levi* in deutscher Übersetzung:

(arm) Testament Levis XVIII,6-7

1 Die Himmel werden sich öffnen;
2 von seinem Tempel der Herrlichkeit
3 wird Heiligkeit über ihn kommen
4 durch die Stimme des Vaters ...,
5 und seine Herrlichkeit wird über ihn ausgesprochen werden
[*Variante*: und seine Herrlichkeit wird sich erheben (վերացցին)];
6 der Geist der Weisheit und der Erkenntnis
7 *wird* auf ihm *ruhen* (հանգիցէ) in den Wassern[108].

[106] Cf. A. Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches* II (= Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 7, Uppsala 1982), S. 223, 226-228.

[107] Cf. Ch. Burchard, «Zur armenischen Überlieferung der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen» in: Ch. Burchard, J. Jervell, J. Thomas, *Studien zu den Testamenten der Zwölf Patriarchen. Drei Aufsätze herausgegeben von* W. Eltester (= Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentl. Wissenschaft... 36, Berlin 1969), S. 1-29, siehe ebenso 39-40; zum griechischen Text cf. M. De Jonge *et al.*, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (= Pseudoepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece I/2, Leiden 1978; Idem, *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (= Pseudoep. Vet. Test. Gr. III, Leiden 1975); Idem, «The Main Issues in the Study of the Twelve Patriarchs», *New Testament Studies* 26 (1980), S. 508-524; zur armenischen Textgestalt cf. M.E. Stone, *The Testament of Levi: A First Study of the Armenian Manuscripts of the XII Patriarchs in the Convent of St. James, Jerusalem with Text, Critical Apparatus, Notes and Translation* (Jerusalem 1969).

[108] Cf. Stone, *The Testament of Levi*, S. 124/125.

In diesem Zusammenhang erhebt sich natürlich die Frage, ob an dieser Stelle (18,6-7) nicht eine christliche Interpolation vorausgesetzt werden muss. Die Anspielung auf die Taufe Jesu im Jordan scheint hier nahezuliegen. Hultgård nimmt jedoch an, dass Levi 18,6-7 jüdischen Ursprungs ist, und auf den Taufbericht der Evangelien (Mt 3,13-17; Mk 1,9-11; Lk 3,21-22; Jh 1,29-34) *eingewirkt hat*[109]. Wie immer die Frage einer christlichen Interpolation[110] gelöst werden wird, sie ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass die Vorstellung des Ruhens in dem Zeitraum des ausgehenden Alten Testaments und der Frühkirche eine bedeutsame Rolle spielte.

In der syrischen (und im Anschluss daran in der ursprünglichen armenischen) Textgestalt des Neuen Testaments, und vor allem in den syrischen und armenischen patristischen Kommentaren hat die Ruhe-Vorstellung dann eine zunehmende Schlüsselstellung eingenommen[111]. Dies lässt sich vor allem an folgenden Stellen des Neuen Testaments (und in den Erläuterungen in der patristischen Literatur) ablesen:

1. Mt 11,28-30: die Verheissung der Ruhe, *da Jesus selbst der Ruhevolle ist* (= Mt 11,29b) laut syrischer (und früh-armenischer) Überlieferung, wie zu sehen war.
2. Jh 1,32: die Taube *ruht* auf Jesus am Jordan gemäss der armenischen Überlieferung, die offensichtlich die ursprüngliche syrische Tradition widerspiegelt (*cf. infra*).
3. Apg 2,3: Das Feuer, in Gestalt von Zungen, *ruht* nach der armenischen Vätertradition auf den Jüngern (*cf. infra*).

Die Aussagen über das Ruhen nehmen bei den Syrern und Armeniern in den Hinweisen auf das Taufgeschehen (— auch das Pfingstereignis ist Taufe —) allem Anschein nach eine hervorragende Stellung ein.

[109] Cf. A. Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches* I (= Acta Univers. Upsaliensis 6, Uppsala 1977), S. 378. Im 2. Band äussert sich Hultgård generell etwas zurückhaltender: «Le chapitre 18 du *Testament de Lévi* atteste, sous sa forme actuelle, une espérance messianique qui appartient à une étape ultérieure de la transmission des *Testaments*, mais le début du chapitre peut avoir eu un équivalent dans l'ouvrage primitif et même dans l'*Apocryphe de Lévi*»; Hultgård, *op. cit.* II, S. 121.

[110] Siehe dazu J. Jervell, «Ein Interpolator interpretiert. Zu der christlichen Bearbeitung der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen», in: Eltester (Ed.), *Studien*, S. 30-61.

[111] Die Verbindung von «Ruhe» und «Taufe» ist nicht auf den syrischen und armenischen Raum beschränkt geblieben. Sie ist z.B. auch in den Paulusakten bezeugt, die wahrscheinlich aus Kleinasien stammen. Hier ist der betreffende Text: «... Selig sind die die Taufe bewahrt haben, denn *sie werden* bei dem Vater und dem Sohn *ausruhen*... Selig sind die Leiber der Jungfrauen, denn ... *sie werden Ruhe finden*» (cf. Mt 11,29), zit. nach E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* II (Tübingen 1964[3]), S. 244.

B. Das Ruhen des Geistes in/auf Jesus bei seiner Taufe (Jh 1,32 und verwandte Stellen)

Soweit ist der Nachweis erbracht worden, dass die Aussage über das Mt-Zitat in einem engen Zusammenhang mit der syrischen und armenischen Lehre über die Taufe steht, und dass generell die Vorstellung des Ruhens offensichtlich eine grosse Anziehungskraft auf die religiöse Ideenwelt der Frühkirche ausgeübt hat.

Erinnern wir uns, dass in (*syr*) Mt 11,29b die Ruhe, die Jesus verheisst, in Jesus selbst ihren Ausgangspunkt hat:

(*syr*) Mt 11,28b *Ego quiescere faciam vos...*
29b *quia quietus sum...*
29c *et invenietis requiem.*

Zu welchem Zeitpunkt Jesus nun der Ruhevolle geworden ist (cf. Mt 11,29b), darüber schweigen die Synoptiker. Jedoch wird im Hebräer-Evangelium und in allen armenischen Textzeugen von Jh 1,32 ein direkter Zusammenhang zwischen der Vorstellung von der Ruhe und der Taufe Jesu hergestellt: Am Jordan *ruht* der Gottesgeist auf Jesus. In Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar wird dabei ausdrücklich auch noch auf das Mt-Zitat (Mt 11) mit seiner Verheissung der Ruhe zurückgegriffen. Zu den wichtigsten und ältesten Repräsentanten des syrischen Evangelientypus ist das Hebräer-Evangelium, das wohl in judenchristlichen Kreisen abgefasst worden ist [112], und das Diatessaron zu rechnen. Das Diatessaron ist lediglich in Ephräms Kommentar in einer syrischen und armenischen Textgestalt auf uns gekommen. An wesentlichen Stellen, so z.B. bei der Taufe Jesu, hat der syrische Text eine Lücke [113]. Somit ist die armenische Version mit anderen syrischen Quellen, die vermutlich das Diatessaron integrierten, zu vergleichen.

I. *Das Ruhen des Geistes in Jesus bei der Taufe nach dem Hebräer-Evangelium*

Hier soll ein Fragment zur Taufe Jesu aus diesem Evangelium zu Wort kommen, das sich im Isaias-Kommentar IV (= zu Is 11,2) des Hieronymus findet:

[112] Cf. *supra*, Einleitung: *Die wichtigsten Quellen...* und die Einführung von Ph. Vielhauer in Hennecke, Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* I, S. 75-108, insbesondere 87, 89-90, 104-108.

[113] Cf. Leloir, *Texte syriaque*, S. 29; «Desunt cap. I,27 circa medium usque ad cap. IX,14 circa medium».

II

1 *Factum est autem cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua,*
2 *descendit fons omnis Spiritus sancti,*
3 *et requievit super eum,*
4 *et dixit illi:*
5 *Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te,*
6 *ut venires, et requiescerem in te;*
7 *tu es enim requies mea,*
8 *tu es filius meus primogenitus,*
9 *qui regnas in sempiternum*[114].

Nun ist es von erstrangiger Bedeutung, dass das Hebräer-Evangelium mit seiner Aussage über das Ruhen des heiligen Geistes auf Jesus am Jordan nicht alleine steht, sondern durch (*arm*) Jh 1,32 und einige syrische Quellen weiter abgestützt wird.

II. *Das Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus am Jordan nach* (*arm + syr*) *Jh 1,32*

Im Diatessaron-Kommentar XI,20 erläutert Ephräm das Gleichnis über das Senfkorn (Mt 13,31-32). Ephräm benützt die bekannte Metapher für das verborgene Himmelreich um folgendes zu erklären:

(I) Den unscheinbaren Beginn der Botschaft über das Himmelreich, die dann schliesslich die ganze Erde umgreift.
(1) In diesem Zusammenhang wird auf die *bestia alata* angespielt, die in dem Gezweig des wachsenden Himmelreichs nistet:
et venit bestia alata et habitat in ramis eus (= *syr* Mt 13,32)[115].

[114] *In Isaiam* IV,11; PL 24, col. 145; deutsch in HENNECKE, SCHNEEMELCHER, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* I, S. 107 (Fragm. 2). Bei der Abfassung des Texts dürfte wohl Is 66,1-2 mit zeitgenössischer Auslegung (— hier wäre an die Targumim zu denken —) eine bedeutsame Rolle gespielt haben. Auch der *Liber Graduum* scheint hier noch einen schwachen Nachhall dieser Überlieferung widerzuspiegeln: «... requies mea est quietus et humilis spiritu quem respiciam et in quo habitem» (cf. Is 66,2; cf. *supra*, Text zu Anm. 96). Auch die armenische Lesart in 2 Hss von Aphrahats *Demonstratio* VI,17 gehört wohl hierher; cf. *supra*, Text zu Anm. 101-102.

[115] Cf. LELOIR, *Texte syriaque*, S. 68/69. Als Ausgangspunkt dient der syrische Text; wichtiges Vokabular ist in Armenisch und Syrisch angegeben (Übereinstimmung ist mit + gekenzeichnet; cf. *infra* II/1c). Unbedeutende armenische Abweichungen finden sich in den Anmerkungen. Der armenische Text hat an dieser Stelle folgende Abweichung: «Et veniunt, ait, volucres caeli, et habitant in ramis eius»; cf. LELOIR, *Version arménienne*, S. 153 (= *arm*), S. 111 (= *lat*). Nun ist es auffallend, dass in der *arm Vg* (von Mt 13,32) nicht von «wohnen» (*բնակեն*), sondern vom «*ruhen*» der Vögel des Himmels die Rede ist, während der *syr + arm* Text des Diatesson-Kommentars vom «wohnen» spricht. Möglicherweise ist Mt 13,32 durch Ez 17,23 angeregt worden, wo es laut *arm Vg* ebenso heisst, dass allerlei Arten von Vögel in dem Gezweig des prächtigen Baums *ruhen werden* (*հանգիցեն*). In dem Ephräm zugeschriebenen Evangelien-Kommentar, das nur in Armenisch auf uns gekommen ist, und sich an das Diatessaron-Kommentar anschliesst, alternieren «ruhen» und «wohnen»: In § 28 er-

(2) In der im Glauben aufgenommenen Botschaft über das wachsende Himmelreich finden dann die ermüdeten Heidenvölker Ruhe:
gentes quae laboraverunt ... quiescunt (*syr*: ܡܬܬܢܝܚܝܢ + *arm*: Հանգչին) *super fidem. «Venite ad me, omnes fatigati»* (= Incipit von *syr* Mt 11,28)[116].

(II) Analog zu diesem unscheinbaren Beginn der Verkündigung, bzw. der Unscheinbarkeit des Senfkorns, ist auch der Beginn des Lebens Jesu unscheinbar. Wie das in das Erdreich eingepflanzte Senfkorn heranwächst, in dem dann die *bestia alata* ruhen wird, so wird Jesus, nachdem er vom Erdreich genommen wurde, heranwachsen, wobei dann die *bestia alata* auf ihm ruhen wird bei der Taufe im Jordan.

(1) In diesem Zusammenhang wird auf Jesus als Adam angespielt, der wie Adam vom Erdreich genommen ist (Gen 2,7), und auf dem die *bestia alata* ruhen wird (cf. Jh 1,32 + Mt 13,32):
(a) *... sed ut manifestaret vere*[117] *se corpus assumpsisse,*
comparavit seipsum grano quod seminatum est in terra,
(b) *et accepit sibi corpus e terra*[118] (cf. Gen. 2,7)
(c) *super quod requievit* (syr: ܐܬܬܢܝܚ + arm: Հանգեաւ) *bestia alata*[119] (cf. Jh 1,32)

(2) Das Zeugnis des Johannes bestätigt das Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus (Jh 1,32 Lk 3,22):
(a) *Et testatur Johannes Baptista*:
(b) *Ego vidi Spiritum in similitudine corporis columbae* (Lk 3,22)[120]
(c)

[syr:][121]	[arm:][122]
qui descendit	*quia descendit*
et permansit (ܘܩܘܝ) *super eum.*	*requievit* (Հանգեաւ)[123] *super eum*

(Jh 1,32).

scheint Mt 13,32 zuerst mit dem Verb բնակեցան (*sie wohnten*), jedoch wenig später findet sich der ausdrückliche Hinweis auf die «*Ruhe*» (հանգիստ), welche das zu einem Baum herangewachsene Senfkorn den Vögeln des Himmels bietet; cf. Egan, *Saint Ephrem: An Exposition of the Gospel*, S. 20-21 (= *arm*), S. 18-19 (= *engl*). Im Zusammenhang mit dem Ezechiel-Zitat 17,23 wird in dem gleichen Kommentar (§ 53) Mt 13,32 zitiert: Հանգիցեն թռչունք երկնից ··· (*die Vögel des Himmels ruhen ...*); cf. Egan, *op. cit.*, S. 34 (= *arm*), S. 31 (= *engl*): siehe ebenso Anm. 105.

[116] Cf. Leloir, *Texte syriaque*, S. 68/69; Idem, *Version arménienne*, S. 153 (= *arm*), S. 111 (= *lat*): «Venite, ait, ad me omnes qui laborastis».

[117] *arm*: «cum certitudine», zum Stellennachweis siehe vorhergehende Anm.

[118] Der syrische und armenische Text stimmt überein; in der lateinischen Übersetzung hat Leloir versehentlich diese Stelle ausgelassen; cf. Leloir, *Version arménienne*, S. 111 (= *lat*), S. 153 (= *arm*).

[119] *arm*: «volucris» anstelle von «bestia alata».

[120] *arm*: nach «ego» folgt «ait»; anstelle von «in similitudine» steht «secundum similitudinem».

[121] Cf. Leloir, *Texte syriaque*, S. 68/69.

[122] Cf. Leloir, *Version arménienne*, S. 153 (= *arm*), S. 111 (= *lat*).

[123] In Leloir, *Version arménienne*, S. 153 findet sich Հանկեաւ anstelle von Հանգեաւ. Möglicherweise bietet die Handschrift tatsächlich կ anstelle von գ. Diese Schreibweise wäre dann auf die phonetische Verschiebung des գ in կ zurückzuführen.

In Kap. XI des Diatessaron-Kommentars wird auf subtile Weise folgendes thematisiert und miteinander verwoben:

I(1) das unscheinbare Wachsen des Senfkorns zu einem Baum, in dem dann die Vögel des Himmels (syr: *bestia alata*) nisten (cf. Mt 13,32)
(2) die Müdigkeit der Völker, die in der Botschaft über das Himmelreich zur Ruhe kommen (cf. Mt 11,28)
II(1) ganz kurz wird hierauf auf die Erschaffung Adams zurückgeblendet (Gen 2,7), die nur dazu dient um die Gestalt des anderen Adam (= Jesus) zu umreissen, auf dem die *bestia alata* ruhen wird (cf. Jh 1,32)
(2) dieser herangereifte Adam wird zum Jordan kommen, wobei dann der Himmels-Vogel auf ihm ruhen wird (cf. Jh 1,32, Lk 3,22).

Verkündigung des Gottesreiches (Mt 13), Verheissung der Ruhe (Mt 11), Erschaffung Adams (Gen 2) und Erfüllung der Verheissung der Ruhe im Taufgeschehen im Jordan (Jh 1) sind hier miteinander verkettet.

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient (nach meiner Gliederung) II/1-2, denn hier steht das *Ruhen* des Geistes auf Jesus bei der Taufe im Jordan im Brennpunkt (II/2). In II/1 heisst es im *syr* + *arm* Text (cf. Jh 1,32) eindeutig, dass die *bestia alata*, der Himmels-Vogel, auf Jesus *ruhen* wird, und somit wird Jh 1,32 ausdrücklich mit Mt 13,32 verbunden:

(*... et accepit sibi corpus e terra* [cf. Gen 2,7])
super quod requievit bestia alata (cf. Jh 1,32 + Mt 13,32),

während in II/2 das syrische und armenische Zitat von Jh 1,32 voneinander abweichen; nur der armenische Text spricht vom *Ruhen* des Geistes auf Jesus:

	syr	*arm*
(b)	*Ego vidi Spiritum ...*	*Ego ... vidi Spiritum ...*
(c)	*qui descendit*	*quia descendit*
	et permansit super eum	*(et) requievit super eum.*

Der armenische Text lautet folgendermassen: *Ես ... տեսի զՀոգին ... զի էջ (եւ) հանգեաւ ի վերայ նորա.* Die Aorist-Formen des Diatessaron-Kommentars (*էջ* + *հանգեաւ*) erscheinen in *arm Vg* als Imperfekt (*իջանէր* + *հանգչէր*). Dies ist nicht so wichtig wie die Tatsache, dass selbst in *arm Vg* an dem *Ruhen* des Geistes auf Jesus festgehalten wird, während der syrische Text des Diatessaron-Kommentars mit dem Verb ܩܘܝ (*permansit*) dem griechischen ἔμεινεν von Jh 1,32 folgt. Um einen besseren Überblick zu gewinnen, stelle ich Jh 1,32 nach dem *griech* Text, dem *syr* Diatessaron-Kommentar (= DK), der *syr Vg* (Pᵉšiṭta), dem *arm* Diatessaron-Kommentar (= DK), und der *arm Vg* einander gegenüber:

Jh 1,32:

griech: τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ... καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ᾽αὐτόν
syr DK: ... qui descendit et *permansit* super eum
syr Vg: (wie syr DK + griech:) *permansit*
arm DK: ... quia descendit (et) *requievit* (հանգեաւ) super eum
arm Vg: (wie arm DK, jedoch nicht Aorist, sondern Imperfekt:) հանգչէր.

Aus dem Vergleich ergibt sich, dass der armenische Textzeuge (gleich ob es sich um das Diatessaron-Kommentar oder die Vulgata handelt) die Vorstellung vom *Ruhen* des Geistes auf Jesus beibehält, im Gegensatz zu *syr DK* + *syr Vg*[124], die mit *permansit* dem griechischen ἔμεινεν von Jh 1,32 folgen. Daraus ist zu schliessen, dass der armenische Zeuge (DK + Vg) bei dem Zitat von Jh 1,32, mit dem Hinweis auf das *Ruhen* des Geistes auf Jesus, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die ursprüngliche syrische Lesart des Diatessaron wiedergibt, während der *syr* Text das griechische ἔμεινεν von Jh 1,32 reflektiert.

Dass dies die richtige Deutung sein dürfte, ergibt sich aus anderen Stellen des Diatessaron-Kommentars, wo es ebenso eindeutig heisst, dass am Jordan der Geist auf Jesus bei der Taufe im Jordan *ruhte*:

(arm) Diatessaron-Kommentar IV,3

... Spiritus qui requievit (հանգեաւ) *super eum in baptismo eius ...*
Et cum multi baptizati essent ibi in illo die,
descendit (et) requievit (հանգեաւ) *Spiritus super unum*[125].

cap. III,15

... et super quem requievit (հանգեաւ) *Spiritus ille ...*[126]

cap. I,31

... et is qui vidit columbam de illo
super quem columba requievit (հանգեաւ) *...*[127]

Es ist nicht zu übersehen, dass alle armenischen Zeugen sich darüber einig sind, dass bei der Taufe am Jordan der Geist auf Jesus *ruhte*. Aber auch im armenischen Text der *Demonstrationes* von Aphrahat heisst es beim Zitat von Jh 1,32-33, dass der Gottesgeist auf Jesus *ruhte*:

[124] Das gleiche gilt zudem auch von der Vetus Syra; cf. BURKITT, *Evangelion da-mepharreshe* I, S. 426.
[125] Cf. LELOIR, *Version arménienne*, S. 47-48 (= *arm*), S. 35 (= *lat*); *syr*: *lacuna*, *cf. supra* Anm. 113.
[126] *Ibid.*, S. 45 (= *arm*), S. 33 (= *lat*).
[127] *Ibid.*, S. 22 (= *arm*), S. 16 (= *lat*).

(arm) Demonstratio VI,13

Et Iohannes vidit caelos qui aperti erant (cf. Mt 3,16 Mk 1,10 Lk 3,21)
et Spiritum Dei qui descendit
et requievit (*Հանգեաւ*) *super Dominum nostrum* (cf. Jh 1,32)[128].

In der syrischen Vorlage, die etwas von der armenischen Version abweicht, ist der Begriff des Ruhens mit (ܥܠ) ܫܪܐ wiedergegeben:

Et Iohannes vidit caelos apertos et Spiritum Dei descendentem ut super Salvatorem requiesceret[129].

Ähnliches gilt von den Ephräm zugeschriebenen *Hymni de epiphania*. Auch hier wird die Aussage vom Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus mit (ܥܠ) ܫܪܐ, aber auch mit (ܥܠ) ܥܡܪ wiedergegeben:

De epiphania VI,1-2

Der Heilige Geist brach auf von der Höhe ...
Er liess alles und ruhte auf (ܫܪܬ ܥܠ) Einem (ܚܕ) [130].

Von allen, die Johannes taufte,
[nur] auf Einem hat der Geist geruht (ܥܠ ܚܕ ܗܘ ܥܡܪܬ ܪܘܚܐ)[131].

Beide Strophen zeigen eine auffällige Affinität mit Ephräms Kommentar zum Diatessaron, das wir bereits zitierten:

(arm) Diatessaron-Kommentar IV,3

Und obgleich damals an jenem Tage viele getauft wurden,
[nur] auf Einem (*միոյն*) stieg der Geist herab und ruhte Er (*Հանգեաւ*)[132].

Die auffällige gedankliche Übereinstimmung zwischen *De epiphania* und Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar gibt zu denken. Inwieweit sich

[128] Cf. LAFONTAINE, *La version arménienne* II, S. 23 (= *arm*), S. 13 (= *lat*).

[129] Cf. PARISOT I, col. 289/290.

[130] Das syrische *ḥad* muss allem Anschein nach in einen engeren Zusammenhang mit *iḥida* (bzw. *iḥidaya*) gebracht werden (wofür ich als deutsche Wiedergabe «der Geeinte» vorschlagen würde). Beide Formen, *iḥida* und *iḥidaya*, die die gleich Bedeutung haben, stehen für ὁ μονογενής, so z.B. in Jh 1,14.18 und 3,16. In der Vetus Syra findet sich *iḥida* (cf. BURKITT, *Evangelion da-mepharreshe* I, S. 422/423, 424/425, 432/433; II, S. 307/308), während *iḥidaya* in der P^ešiṭta, in Aphrahats *Demonstrationes* (cf. PARISOT I, col. 269; II, col. 101, 105) und in den syrischen Kanones von Nicäa (cf. F. SCHULTHESS, *Die syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon* [= Abhandl. d. kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., n. Folge X/2, Berlin 1908], S. 2) steht. Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar bietet beide Formen; cf. LELOIR, *Texte syriaque*, S. 2/3 (*iḥida*), S. 212/213 (*iḥidaya*). Es kann sein, dass es sich bei *iḥida* (oder *iḥidaya*] wiederum um eine spezifische Lesart des Diatessaron handelt, die durch enkratische Kreise auch in die Frühformen des syrischen Asketentums Eingang fand, wo die *iḥidaye* als die höchste Stufe der Aszese ja bekanntlich eine grosse Rolle spielten; siehe z.B. in Aphrahats *Demonstrationes* (PARISOT I, col. 269, 276, 341, 344, 356, 404, *passim*).

[131] Cf. BECK, S. 160 (= *syr*), S. 147 (= *dt*).

[132] Cf. LELOIR, *Version arménienne*, S. 48 (= *arm*), S. 35 (= *lat*); *syr*: *lacuna*, cf. *supra* Anm. 113.

dabei Rückschlüsse auf eine tatsächliche Autorschaft Ephräms bei den *Hymni de epiphania* ziehen lassen, muss in dieser Untersuchung offen bleiben. Andrerseits könnte es sein, dass beide, das Diatessaron-Kommentar Ephräms wie die Epiphanie-Hymnen, aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle schöpften, die im syrischen Raum weit verbreitet war.

Auch noch spätere syrische Quellen geben Zeugnis über das Ruhen des Heiligen Geistes auf Jesus bei seiner Taufe im Jordan. So heisst es z.B. in der Schrift des Moses bar Kepha über die Myron-Weihe: «... wie auch der Heilige Geist auf dem Messias bei der Taufe *ruhte* (ܫܪܬ ܥܠ)»[133].

Aus dem syrischen und armenischen Befund ergibt sich soweit folgendes:

1. Bei Mt 11,29b haben *alle* syrischen Evangelientypen das *quietus*, im Gegensatz zum griechischen *mitis*. Zudem folgt das Armenische bei 11,28b (syr: *ego quiescere faciam vos*) in der kausativen Konstruktion des Verbs getreulich der syrischen Vorlage, denn das armenische Հանգուցից (դձեզ) entspricht dem syrischen ܐܢܝܚܟܘܢ.
2. Möglicherweise handelt es sich bei der syrischen Variante von Mt 11,29b um eine charakteristische Lesart des Diatessaron, die sich nicht nur in der Vetus Syra und in der P^ešiṭta, sondern die sich selbst noch in den syrischen Hymnen eines Ephräm erhalten hat.
3. Die Vorstellung von der Ruhe, die Jesus in Mt 11,28-29 verheisst, und die laut syrischem Text auf die Ruhe Jesu zurückgeht, ist in der syrischen Tradition (und im Anschluss daran auch in Armenien) in die Tauf-Lehre eingebettet worden: Die Schlüsselworte von Mt 11,29b kehren z.B. in den Ephräm zugeschriebenen Epiphanie-Hymnen wieder.
4. Der Ursprung der Ruhe Jesu ist mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit in dem Ruhen des Gottesgeistes auf Jesus bei seiner Taufe im Jordan begründet. Das deutlichste Zeugnis gibt das Hebräer-Evangelium; aber auch sämtliche armenische Quellen, die Jh 1,32 aufgriffen, sind beredte Zeugen davon, dass der Geist auf Jesus am Jordan ruhte.
5. Das Diatessaron-Kommentar (cap. XI,20) war für Jh 1,32 besonders bedeutungsvoll. Wir gliederten dieses Kapitel in *I/1-2* (= Zitat von Mt 13 + 11) und *II/1-2* (= Zitat von Jh 1,32).

In *II/1* folgt das Armenische mit Հանգեաւ getreulich der syrischen Vorlage: Die armenische Version bietet die Deponensform Հանգեաւ (Aorist von Հանգչիմ, *requiesco*) um das syrische ܐܬܬܢܝܚܬ wiederzugeben. Bei beiden Versionen handelt es sich um eine Anspielung auf Jh 1,32, wobei beide Fassungen aussagen, dass der Geist auf Jesus bei seiner Taufe *ruhte*.

[133] Cf. W. STROTHMANN, *Moses bar Kepha. Myron-Weihe herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit einem vollständigen Wortverzeichnis versehen* (= Göttinger Orientforschungen I. Reihe: Syriaca 7, Wiesbaden 1973), S. 30/31.

II

In *II/2* wird das Jh-Zitat nochmals aufgegriffen, jedoch divergieren hier die syrische und armenische Textgestalt:

arm		*syr*
	Ego vidi Spiritum ...	
quia descendit		*qui descendit*
(et) requievit		*et permansit*
	super eum.	

Der syrische Text von Jh 1,32 folgt hier dem griechischen ἔμεινεν. Das gleiche gilt von der Vetus Syra und der Pᵉšiṭta, lediglich das Diatessaron-Kommentar (*cf. supra II/1*) hält an dem *Ruhen* des Geistes auf Jesus fest.

6. Die Lesart von *II/1* wird von allen armenischen Quellen, die Jh 1,32 zitieren, bestätigt. Besonders auffällig ist die Tatsache, dass *sämtliche* armenische Zeugen zu Joh 1,32 (i.e. die *arm Vg*, alle Stellen im Diatessaron-Kommentar, die auf Jh 1,32 anspielen, sowie in Aphrahats *Demonstrationes*) ausdrücklich darauf hinweisen, dass der Geist auf Jesus am Jordan *ruhte* (im Gegensatz zum griechischen *permansit* von Jh 1,32). Es mag sein, dass die armenischen Quellen, sowie *syr* Diatessaron-Kommentar XI,20 (*cf. supra II/1*) die ursprüngliche syrische Lesart von Jh 1,32 bieten, und dass diese Lesart von Jh 1,32 im Diatessaron, oder einem ihm nahestehenden Text, verankert ist.

Soweit sind diejenigen Stellen zu Wort gekommen, die vom Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus sprechen. Anfänglich *ruht* der Geist nur auf Einem, nämlich Jesus[134], dann jedoch auch auf seinen Jüngern bei der Feuertaufe an Pfingsten, und auf dem Täufling bei der Taufe. Besonders deutlich zeigt sich dieser Aspekt in der *Lehre Gregors*, in der das Pfingstereignis generell sehr ausführlich behandelt ist.

Lehre Gregors § 614

Und dies war das Feuer des Geistes
das erschien in den Tagen von Pfingsten:
es kam [und] *ruhte* (Հանգեաւ)
in den [Feuer-]Zungen [über] den Aposteln. (cf. Apg 2,3)[135]

So wie über Jesus der Heilige Geist ruhte bei seiner Taufe im Jordan, so ruht nun der Gottesgeist auf den Jüngern bei der Geisttaufe an Pfingsten. Das armenische Verb ist dabei Հանգչիմ (*requiesco*), das entweder in dieser oder in der kausativen Form Հանգուցանեմ (*quiescere facio*) in allen bisher untersuchten Quellen auftauchte[136].

[134] Cf. *supra*, Anm. 131 u. 132.

[135] *Cf.* Ter-Mkrtčʻean, Kanayeancʻ, *Agatʻangelay ...*, S. 314.

[136] Hier sind die betreffenden Stellen: *Diatessaron-Kommentar* I,31 III,15 IV,3 XI, 20: Հանգեաւ (Jh 1,32); XI,20: Հանգչին; *Evangelien-Kommentar* § 47: Հանգիցեն

In den armenischen Tauf- und Pfingsthymnen heisst es ebenso, dass der Geist auf den Aposteln ruhte:

Hymnus I[137]

Der herabkam vom Himmel,
heute *ruhte Er* (*հանգեաւ*) auch über den Aposteln
als der wahre Heilige Geist.

Der gleiche Gedanke findet sich auch im armenischen Morgenoffizium (*առաւօտեան*) [138] beim Trisagion des Pfinsttages:

Heiliger Gott ...
der Du kamst und *ruhtest* (*հանգեար*) in den Aposteln,
erbarme Dich unser[139].

Auch in den Ephräm zugeschriebenen armenischen Hymnen ruht der Geist auf den Neugetauften:

Kc'owrd (*Troparion*)[140] XLVIII

Durch die Taufe des Heiligen Geistes
werden wir teilhaftig der Tilgung der Sünden;
und Seine Kraft, die inmitten des Brotes wohnt
tritt ein [und] *ruht* (*հանգչի*) in uns[141].

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass das Leitmotiv der Ruhe im Gottesgeist seinen Ausgang nimmt, und durch die Herabkunft auf Jesus die Ruhe des Sohnes bewirkt. So wie auf Jesus der Geist am Jordan ruhte, so ruhte der Geist auch auf den Jüngern als sie an

(Ez 17,23 Mt 13,32); § 53: *հանգուցից* (Ez 34,15), *հանգուսցէ* (Ez 34,23); *Aphrahats Dmonstratio* VI,13: *հանգեաւ* (Jh 1,32); VI,17: *հանգեայց* (Is 66,2); *Lehre Gregors* § 446: *հանգուցանեմ* (Mt 11,28); § 614: *հանգեաւ* (Apg 2,3); Gebet zur Wasserweihe an Epiphanie: *հանգուցիս* (Mt 11,28); *Testament Levis* XVIII,7: *հանգիցէ*.

[137] Cf. *Մաշտոց* (Jerusalem 1961), S. 15. In der Numerierung der Hymnen folge ich meinem Artikel, «Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier». Zu diesen Hymnen siehe ebenso meine Untersuchung, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 455-462.

[138] Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des armenischen Offiziums der zweiten Hälfte der Nacht bis zum Morgen cf. G. WINKLER, «The Armenian Night Office II: The Unit of Psalmody, Canticles, and Hymns with Particular Emphasis on the Origins and Early Evolution of Armenia's Hymnography», *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 17 (1983).

[139] Cf. *Ժամագիրք* (Jerusalem 1955), S. 306. Die gleiche Form des Trisagions findet sich auch in der Eucharistiefeier von Pfingsten; die armenisch-englische Ausgabe der Liturgie (*Պատարագամատոյց* ··· [New York 1950], S. 40/41) bietet irrtümlicherweise das Trisagion des Palmsonntags. Diese Mitteilung verdanke ich meinem Studenten, Kh. Barsamian, Armenisches Patriarchat Jerusalem.

[140] Zur Terminologie der armenischen Hymnen und ihre Übersetzung cf. WINKLER, «The Armenian Night Office II».

[141] Cf. L. MARIÈS, Ch. MERCIER, *Hymnes de saint Éphrem conservées en version arménienne. Texte arménien, traduction latine et notes explicatives* (= Patrologia Orientalis 30, Paris 1963), S. 222/223.

II

Pfingsten mit dem Geist und Feuer getauft wurden, um dann ebenso bei der Geisttaufe auf den Täuflingen zu ruhen.

Was für ein Vokabular wird nun weiter bei den Aussagen über Jesus verwendet, auf dem der Geist ruht? Dies führt zu der Untersuchung archaischer Vorstellung über den geisterfüllten Jesus, der bei der Taufe «erhoben» und «verherrlicht» wird, und den Vater erkennt.

C. Die Überlieferten Spuren Der Geist-Christologie

In diesem Abschnitt wird folgendem nachgegangen: die Erhebung und Verherrlichung Jesu bei seiner Taufe, die Sohnschaft und das Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn bei der Taufe, und der pneumatische Beginn Jesu im Jordan, wobei Jesus als der eingeborene Sohn erscheint.

1. *Die Erhebung und Verherrlichung Jesu am Jordan*

Hier lohnt es sich nochmals auf das *Testament Levis* zurückzukommen. Auch hier ruht der Geist offensichtlich bei einem Taufereignis auf dem auserwählten (Priester-)Heiland. Ich gebe hier nochmals den Wortlaut nach der armenischen Version[142]:

(*arm*) *Testament Levis* XVIII,6-7

1 Die Himmel werden sich öffnen;
2 von seinem Tempel der Herrlichkeit
3 wird Heiligkeit über ihn kommen
4 durch die Stimme des Vaters ....,
5 und seine Herrlichkeit wird über ihn ausgesprochen werden
[Variante: *und seine Herrlichkeit wird sich erheben* (*վերացցին*)];
6 der Geist der Weisheit und der Erkenntnis
7 *wird auf ihm ruhen* (*հանգիցէ*) *in den Wassern.*

Auch die griechische Textgestalt spricht vom Ruhen des Geistes: καὶ πνεῦμα συνέσεως καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ καταπαύσει ἐπ᾽αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι[143]. Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass die Aussage des Ruhens des Geistes auf dem (Priester-)Heiland in Levi XVIII,6-7, auf Jesus in Jh 1,32 und im Fragment des Hebräer-Evangeliums auf einen gemeinsamen Traditionsstrang verweist, der einst grosse Ausstrahlungskraft besessen haben muss, sich dann aber verlor, und sich damit nur mehr in Bruchstücken erhalten hat. Der geisterfüllte Priester-Heiland in Levi und der geisterfüllte Jesus der Evangelien geben Zeugnis

[142] Cf. Anm. 108.
[143] Cf. De Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, S. 49.

von der Bedeutung der Einwohnung des Geistes. Erst das Herabkommen des Geistes, zusammen mit der Stimme bewirken, dass der Auserwählte zum Träger der Heiligkeit, Herrlichkeit, und zum Heiland für die Menschheit wird. Dies führt zu den anderen Schlüsselworten, wie *փառք* (*Herrlichkeit*) und *վերանամ* (*ich werde erhoben, ich erhebe mich, gehe auf, steige auf*)[144].

Die Textvariante in Zeile 5 lautet : *und seine Herrlichkeit wird sich erheben* (*վերասցի*). In Ephräms Hymnen *De ecclesia* XXXVI,3 ist ebenso von der Herrlichkeit Jesu bei seiner Taufe die Rede :

De ecclesia XXXVI,3[145]

Der Fluss in dem [Jesus] getauft wurde
empfing Ihn symbolisch aufs neue :
Der feuchte Schoss des Wassers empfing ihn in Reinheit
gebar Ihn in *Glanz*[146]
und liess Ihn heraussteigen in *Herrlichkeit*.

Auch die *Lehre Gregors* weiss um die *Verherrlichung* Jesu bei seiner Taufe. Dabei werden Jh 12,28 16,14 17,1 miteinander verbunden. Auffällig ist zudem, dass auch auf das Ruhen des Geistes eingegangen wird :

Lehre Gregors § 425

1 Und Er selbst spricht zum Vater :
2 «Angelangt ist die Stunde, Vater,
3 *verherrliche* Deinen Sohn.» (cf. Jh 17,1)[147]
4 Und eine vom Himmel kommende Stimme spricht :
5 «*Ich habe verherrlicht* und *werde* noch *verherrlichen*». (cf. Jh 12,28)[148]

[144] Cf. E. Ciakciak, *Dizionario armeno-italiano* II (Venedig 1837), S. 1325.

[145] Cf. E. Beck (= CSCO 198-199, Script. syri 84-85, Löwen 1960), S. 90-91 (= *syr*), S. 88 (= *dt*).

[146] Ich folge hier Becks Übersetzung (eine andere Möglichkeit bietet S. Brock, «St. Ephrem on Christ as Light in Mary and in the Jordan : Hymni De Ecclesia 36», *Eastern Churches Review* 7 (1976), S. 138 : «... The moist womb of the water conceived him in purity, bore him in *chastity*...»). Zum Thema des Glanzes (Licht/Feuer) siehe ebenso *Sibyllina* VI, 3-7; J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (= Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipzig 1902), S. 130; Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 111, 114-117, 119, 122-124, 137-139, 147-148, 153, 412-413. Die Erwähnung von Feuer oder Licht bei der Taufe in der Frühkirche Syriens und Armeniens geht sicherlich auf jene frühchristliche Überlieferung zurück, die bei der Taufe Jesu das Feuer oder Licht erwähnt, wie z.B. das Diatessaron des Tatian. Zur Erwähnung des Lichts cf. Anm. 74 u. 196.

[147] Als ein Beispiel für die Textabweichungen wird der Bibeltext in der *Lehre Gregors* § 425 dem Text der *arm Vg* gegenübergestellt ; *Lehre Gregors* (cf. Ter-Mkrtč'ean, Kanayeanc', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 211) : *եհաս ժամ, Հայր, փառաւոր արա զորդի քո* ; arm Vg Jh 17,1 : *Հայր, Հասեալ է ժամ, փառաւորեա զորդի քո*.

[148] *Lehre Gregors* : *եւ եկեալ բարբառ յերկնից ասէ. փառաւոր արարի, եւ*

6 Auf gleiche Weise zeigt auch der Sohn, in [unsere] Mitte gestellt,
7 den Vater und den Heiligen Geist der Welt.

8 Und ebenso ruft der Vater bezüglich des Eingeborenen:
9 «Dieses ist mein Sohn, *der Eingeborene* (*միածին*),[149]
10 der Wohlgefällige meines Wesens.» (cf. Mt 3,17 + 12,18)[150]

11 Ich werde meinen Geist auf Ihn legen» (Mt 12,18)[151],
12 was auch offenbar wird
12 in dem Herabkommen [des Geistes] auf [Jesus]
14 und dem *Ruhen* (*հանգչել*) [auf Ihm]. (cf. Jh 1,32 + *arm DK*)[152]

15 wie Er [= Jesus] das auch selbst sagt vom Heiligen Geist:
16 «*Er verherrlicht* mich.» (cf. Jh 16,14)[153]

Als erstes fällt auf, dass durch das Zitat von Jh 12,28 16,14 17,1 (cf. Zeile 5, 16, 3) die Erhebung und Verherrlichung Jesu mit seiner Taufe verknüpft werden. Damit wird dem *Beginn* Jesu, d.h. dem Taufereignis am Jordan eine überragende Bedeutung beigemessen: Die Verherrlichung Jesu ereignet sich am Jordan! Erst durch die Herabkunft des Gottesgeistes auf Ihn (cf. Zeile 11-16) und durch dem Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus (cf. Zeile 14), wird Jesus als der Sohn verherrlicht.

Zeile 13-14 ist nichts anderes als eine freie Wiedergabe von Jh 1,32. Dabei ist bereits festgestellt worden, dass die Aussagen über das Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus möglicherweise eine charakteristische Lesart des Diatessarons, oder einer ihm nahestehenden Textgestalt zu sein scheint, während der griechische Text von Jh 1,32 vom *Bleiben* des Geistes spricht.

II. *Der erhobene Jesus und das Erkennen zwischen Vater und Sohn* (Mt 11,27)

Auch ein anderer Abschnitt der *Lehre Gregors* fügt sich gut an dieser Stelle ein, denn auch hier wird die Erhebung und Verherrlichung

այլ փառաւորեցից ; *arm Vg* Jh 12,28 : *եկն բարբառ յերկնից. եւ փառաւոր արարի, եւ դարձեալ փառաւոր արարից.*

[149] Zum Hinweis auf den Eingeborenen im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe *cf. infra*.

[150] *Lehre Gregors*: *դա է որդին իմ միածին, հաճեցուցիչ անձին իմոյ* ; *arm Vg* Mt 3,17 : *դա է որդի իմ սիրելի որ հաճեցայ* u. Mt 12,18 : *ընդ որ հաճեցաւ անձն իմ.*

[151] *Lehre Gregors* : *զորա* ; Mt 12,18 : *նորա.*

[152] *Lehre Gregors* : *որ եւ յայտ լեալ յիջանելն ի վերայ եւ հանգչել* (im krit. App. finden sich folgende Varianten: *որ եւ յայտ լեալ իջանել եւ հանգչել ի վերայ նորա* sowie: ... *իջանել եւ հանկչի* [sic]); *arm Vg* Jh 1,32: *զի իջանէր ... եւ հանգչէր ի վերայ նորա* ; siehe ebenso Ephräms Diatessaron-Kommentar XI,20 (*cf. supra* Text zu Anm. 123, 125-128, 132).

[153] *Lehre Gregors* : *նա զիս փառաւոր առնէ* ; *arm Vg* Jh 16,14 : ... *փառաւորեսցէ.*

Jesu mit seiner Taufe im Jordan verknüpft, und mit Is 52,13 begründet:

(arm) Is 52,13

Siehe, verstehen wird mein Kind,
es wird erhoben (վերասցի) und *erhöht* (բարձրասցի) und gar sehr *verherrlicht* (փառաւորեսցի).

Hier ist der Kontext des Zitats in der *Lehre Gregors*:

Lehre Gregors § 416

1 Und erst wirklich von dort her [d.h. von der Taufe an; cf. Zeile 4-5]
2 wird Er [= Jesus] verstanden [und] erkannt (ի միտ առեալ ճանաչի)
3 als der wahre Sohn Gottes:

4 durch die Stimme seines Vaters
5 und durch das Herabsteigen des Geistes auf Ihn.

6 Denn [erst] wirklich von dort her
7 wird Er verstanden [und] erkannt (ի միտ առեալ ճանաչի)
8 bei der Erfüllung der Weissagung des Vaters:

9 «Siehe, verstehen wird (ի միտ առցէ) mein Kind,
10 *es wird erhoben* und *erhöht* und gar sehr *verherrlicht*». (Is 52,13)[154]

Aus mehreren Gründen ist dies ein bemerkenswerter Text. Zunächst besagt der Text, dass Jesus erst bei der Taufe — genauer: durch die Stimme des Vaters und die Herabkunft des Geistes — als Sohn Gottes erkannt wird (cf. Zeile 1-5). Dies ist überraschend, den man fragt sich natürlich, welche Stellung dabei der Lehre der Inkarnation und der Präexistenz Jesu einnimmt. Bei einer unvoreingenommenen Durchsicht des Texts drängt sich einem die Schlussfolgerung auf, dass es sich hier um eine reine Geist-Christologie handelt.

Allem Anschein nach ist der Text überarbeitet worden. Ich glaube nicht, dass der Text, so wie er heute lautet, die ursprüngliche Gestalt darstellt. Die vermutlich frühere Textgestalt hatte für uns erstaunliche Dinge über Jesus mitzuteilen. Die Zeilen 2 und 7 sind nicht ganz eindeutig in ihrem Sinn. Im Armenischen findet sich ein Partizip, kombiniert mit einem Präsens: ի միտ առեալ ճանաչի (wörtlich: *verstehend wird er erkannt*). Die Stelle könnte auch anders als die in Zeile

[154] Cf. TER-MKRTČEAN, KANAYEANC', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 207; freie Übersetzung insbesondere des Isaias-Zitats bei THOMSON, *The Teaching*, S. 90. Das Isaias-Zitat ist darüber hinaus zweimal in § 405 der *Lehre Gregors* bezeugt: Die Stelle handelt von dem zwölfjährigen Knaben Jesus, der im Tempel lehrt. Meines Erachtens ist die Anführung des Zitats in diesem Kontext sekundär. Möglicherweise lässt sich damit die Tatsache einer Überarbeitung der *Lehre Gregors* nachweisen. Es würde sich lohnen den verschiedenen Schichten, die in diesem Dokument offensichtlich vorhanden sind, in einer ausführlichen Untersuchung nachzugehen.

2 und 7 gebotene Übersetzung aufgefasst werden, und würde dann vor allem eine bessere Begründung für das Zitieren von Is 52,13 (cf. Zeile 9-10) abgeben. Das Zitat mit seinem Hinweis, dass das *Kind* (= Jesus) verstehen wird (Z. 9), passt nämlich nicht wirklich in den Rahmen der Aussage von Zeile 2 und 7: Hier bezieht sich das Verstehen auf die *Zeugen* der Taufe Jesu: «Er wird verstanden [und] erkannt».

Nun wird im Isaias-Zitat in Zeile 9 das gleiche Verb wie in Zeile 2 und 7 verwendet: *ի միտ առնում* (*ich verstehe*). Die gleiche Wortwahl besagt nicht viel hier. Würde man jedoch das Isaias-Zitat, das ja als *Begründung* für das Verstehen Jesu («verstehen wird meine Kind», i.e. Jesus) dienen soll, an den Anfang stellen, und zugleich die Zweideutigkeit des Partizips in Zeile 2 und 7 (*ի միտ առեալ*, *verstehend*) bedenken, so würde sich eine *aktive* (anstelle einer passiven) Erfassung des Partizips anbieten:

Z. 9 Siehe, *verstehen wird* (*ի միտ առցէ*) *mein Kind*,
10 es wird erhoben und erhöht und gar sehr verherrlicht. (Is 52,13)

1 Und wirklich erst von dort her [d.h. von der Taufe an, cf. Zeile 4-5]
2a *versteht Er* [= Jesus] [*mich*, i.e. den Vater] (cf. Mt 11,27)
2b [und] wird Er erkannt
3 als der wahre Sohn Gottes (cf. Mt 11,27)[155]

4 *durch die Stimme des Vaters*
5 *und durch das Herabsteigen des Heiligen Geistes auf Ihn* [!]

6 Denn wirklich [erst] von dort her
7a versteht Er [den Vater] (cf. Mt 11,27)
7b [und] wird Er erkannt [als der Sohn]
8 *bei der Erfüllung der Weissagung* des Vaters:

9 Siehe, *verstehen wird mein Kind*,
10 *es wird erhoben* und *erhöht* und gar sehr *verherrlicht*.

Diese Interpretation, dass Jesus erst bei seiner Taufe den Vater erkennt (cf. Zeile 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9) ist keineswegs abwegig. Die gleiche Auffassung teilt auch eine andere armenische Quelle, nämlich der *Բանալի ճշմարտութեան* (*Schlüssel der Wahrheit*)[156], wobei zudem die Anspielung

[155] Ein Vergleich mit § 424 der *Lehre Gregors* (cf. TER-MKRTČ'EAN, KANAYEANC', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 210-211) zeigt, dass die Übersetzung (in Zeile 2a-3) keineswegs auszuschliessen ist: «... denn Er [= der Sohn] ist *ein Wissender des Vaters* ... wie Er auch selbst sagt: *Niemand kennt den Vater, wenn nicht der Sohn*, wie auch den Sohn niemand kennt, wenn nicht der Vater» (cf. Mt 11,27). Auf diese Stelle wird ausführlicher eingegangen, *cf. infra*.

[156] Der *Schlüssel der Wahrheit*, so wie das Dokument auf uns gekommen ist, ist eine relativ späte Quelle (von 1782). Es ist das Verdienst von F.C. CONYBEARE, diese wichtige Quelle veröffentlicht zu haben: *The Key of Truth. A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia. The Armenian Text Edited and Translated with Illustrative Documents and Introduction (Oxford 1898)*. Bereits Conybeare versuchte aufgrund einer philologischen

auf Mt 11,27-29 deutlicher als in der Lehre Gregors § 416 hervortritt. Zwar bietet der *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* die griechische Textgestalt von Mt 11,29b (*mitis* anstelle des syrischen *quietus*[157]), jedoch ist die enge Verknüpfung von Mt 11,27-29 mit der Taufe Jesu deutlich erkennbar:

(*arm*) *Mt* 11,27-29	Taufbericht im *Schlüssel der Wahrheit*, cap. IV
	Und so gefiel es dem himmlischen Vater in Erbarmen den neuen Adam [zu schaffen][158].
27 Und niemand erkennt (ճանաչէ) den Sohn, wenn nicht der Vater,	
und *niemand erkennt* (ճանաչէ) *den Vater, wenn nicht der Sohn* ...[160]	Wirklich [...][159] *der Mensch Jesus erkannte* (ծանեաւ [161]) *seinen Vater*: indem Er auch durch die Eingebung des Heiligen Geistes zum hlg. Johannes kam

Analyse (die wenig Anklang fand; cf. L. MARIÈS, «Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare», *Revue des Études Arméniennes* VI/2 (1926), S. 247-251) dieses Dokument auf das 7. bis 9. Jh. zurückzudatieren. Ebenso N. GARSOÏAN (*The Paulician Heresy: A Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* (Paris 1967), S. 109-110, 216, 218, 220-223, 226-230, 233) wies darauf hin, dass es sich bei dem *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* um ein sehr altes Dokument handeln muss, das in seinem Kern eine archaische Christologie zeigt, deren Wurzeln in Syrien zu suchen sind. Insbesondere die Aussagen über die Taufe Jesu lassen sich nur mit der Tauflehre der syrischen Frühkirche erschliessen, wie ich in zwei Arbeiten versuchte darzulegen: «Eine bemerkenswerte Stelle im armenischen Glaubensbekenntnis: Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum qui descendit in Jordanem proclamavit missum», *Oriens Christianus* 63 (1979), S. 141-142, 150-152 und «Zur frühchristlichen Tauftradition», S. 294ff.

[157] Im *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* ist die Anspielung auf Mt 11,29b an den Normaltext angeglichen worden. Eingangs ist bereits darauf hingewiesen worden, dass der heutige armenische Text von 29b nicht dem syrischen, sondern dem griechischen Text folgt. Zudem wurde festgestellt, dass insbesondere in § 446 der *Lehre Gregors* das besagte Mt-Zitat in der syrischen und griechischen Textgestalt erscheint; cf. Anm. 46, Text zu Anm. 83 u. 92.

[158] Das Verb ist von der Handschrift entfernt worden; cf. CONYBEARE, *The Key of Truth*, S. 79.

[159] Hier ist wiederum ein Wort aus dem Text entfernt worden; cf. CONYBEARE, *The Key of Truth*, S. 11 (= *arm*), S. 79 (= *engl*). Conybeare nimmt (auf S. 79) an, dass die Lücke mit «*created*» zu füllen ist: «But the [created] man Jesus knew his Father...». Es wäre jedoch denkbar, dass ein anderes Wort die Lücke schliessen könnte, und der Text in etwa so gelautet hat: «Indeed [there] the man Jesus knew ...». Um die Lücke sachgerecht zu füllen, müsste das Original eingesehen werden um festzulegen wieviele Buchstaben tatsächlich fehlen, und welches Wort in die Lücke passen könnte.

[160] *Et nemo noscit Filium, nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis noscit, nisi Filius* ...: In einer Reihe von armenischen patristischen Quellen alterniert *noscit* (ճանաչէ) mit *cognoscit* (գիտէ); ferner findet sich oftmals eine Umstellung: «Nemo cognoscit Patrem, nisi Filius, neque Filium quis noscit, nisi Pater...»; cf. LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 160-161. [In Ephräms Prosa-Widerlegungen findet sich Mt 11,27 in folgender Form: «Non est qui cognoscat Patrem, nisi Filius...»; cf. LELOIR, *L'évangile d'Éphrem ... Recueil*, S. 25 (nr. 154).]; siehe ebenso Anm. 169.

[161] Aorist 3. Pers. Sg. von ճանաչեմ.

28 Kommet zu mir alle ihr Mühseligen...[162]
und ich werde euch ruhen lassen...[163]
29 denn ich bin *sanftmütig und demütig* (Հեզ եւ խոնարհ)[164]

in Sanftmut und Demut (Հեզութեամբ եւ խոնարհութեամբ)
um von ihm getauft zu werden.
Und zur gleichen Zeit wurde Er von dem allmächtigen Vater gekrönt:
«Dies ist mein Sohn, der Geliebte,
in dem ich Wohlgefallen habe»[165].

So eng muss die Verknüpfung von Taufe und Mt 11,27-29 einstmals gewesen sein, dass selbst im *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* noch die Taufe Jesu anhand von Mt 11,27-29 erläutert wird. Es ist immerhin bemerkenswert, dass sich selbst in einem armenischen Zeugen aus so später Zeit noch die ursprüngliche (syrische) Assoziation der Taufe Jesu mit Mt 11,27-29 halten konnte.

In beiden Quellen, der *Lehre Gregors* und dem *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* tritt eine archaische Christologie zutage, auf die noch zurückzukommen sein wird. Es wäre durchaus denkbar, dass bei § 416 der *Lehre Gregors* der Text von Zeile 2 und 7 einmal eindeutiger in seiner Anlehung an Mt 11,27 (bzw. Jh 10,14-15 *et passim*) gewesen ist, und erst nachträglich der ursprüngliche Sinn verwischt wurde. Das Isaias-Zitat (Is 52,13), das ausdrücklich vom Erkennen Jesu spricht, weist wahrscheinlich noch auf den einstigen Sinngehalt der Aussagen in § 416 hin.

Auch in § 424 der *Lehre Gregors* wird das Wissen des Sohnes um den Vater, das in einen Taufkontext eingebettet ist, anhand von Mt 11,27 (+ Jh 1,18) erklärt:

[162] Hier sind eine Reihe von Abweichungen in den frühen armenischen und syrischen patristischen Zeugen; cf. LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 161-162; IDEM, *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron*, S. 146-147; IDEM, *Doctrines et méthodes*, S. 20; CONYBEARE, «An Armenian Diatessaron?», S. 233; zum weiteren Stellennachweis *cf. supra*, Anm. 31 (u. 55).

[163] *Et ego quiescere faciam vos* (եւ ես հանգուցից ձեզ); da das Verb in der kausativen Form erscheint und nicht als Deponens (հանգչիմ) ist es genauer das Verb mit *quiescere faciam* wiederzugeben, anstelle von *reficiam*; zum betreffenden Stellennachweis (— oftmals bleibt die kausative Form des Verbs unberücksichtigt!) cf. vorangehende Anm. u. Anm. 31; siehe zudem Anm. 69 u. 82.

[164] Zum patristischen Stellennachweis cf. LELOIR, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 163-165.

[165] Cf. CONYBEARE, *The Key of Truth*, S. 11 (= *arm*), S. 79 (= *engl*; die Übersetzung ist etwas frei). Auf Mt 11,29b wird nochmals in Kapitel XXII — ebenso im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe Jesu — angespielt; cf. CONYBEARE, *op. cit.*, S. 39 (= *arm*), S. 103 (= *engl*).

Lehre Gregors § 424[166]

1 ... denn *Er* [= der Sohn] *ist ein Wissender* (*գիտակ է*) *des Vaters* (cf. Mt 11,27 + Jh 1,18)
2 und Einer, der Seinen Willen erfüllt (cf. Jh 4,34)
3 wie Er and selbst sagt:
4 «Niemand kennt (*գիտէ*) den Vater, wenn nicht der Sohn,
5 wie auch den Sohn niemand kennt, wenn nicht der Vater». (cf. Mt 11,27)[167]
6 Und wiederum sagt Er:
7 «Ich kam den Willen dessen zu erfüllen, der mich gesandt hat». (cf. Jh 4,34)
8 Und wiederum sagt Johannes:
9 «Gott hat niemand jemals gesehen, ausser dem eingeborenen Sohn
10 der im Schoss des Vaters [ist], Er berichtete [von Ihm]». (cf. Jh 1,18)[168]

Man beachte hier die auffällige Umgruppierung von Mt 11,27: Das Zitat beginnt mit dem Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn, während der griechische Evangelientext mit dem Erkennen des Sohnes durch den Vater einsetzt. Die Abweichung im Armenischen ist möglicherweise als die ursprüngliche Lesart von Vers 27 anzusehen, denn sie taucht in einer Reihe altarmenischer Quellen auf[169]. Bereits J. Weiss hatte darauf hingewiesen, dass diese Reihenfolge wahrscheinlich die ursprüngliche Textgestalt darstellt. Weiss versuchte dies jedoch aus dem griechischen Text abzuleiten[170]. Was die armenische Version anbetrifft, sie ist wohl durch syrische Vermittlung zustande gekommen.

Die Thematik des Erkennens im Zusammenhang mit einem Taufgeschehen lässt sich auch im *Testament Levis* nachweisen. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Stelle, die wir bereits mehrmals zitierten. Hier ist es

[166] Cf. Ter-Mkrtčean, Kanayeanc, *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 210-211.

[167] Cf. Anm. 160. Auf die Umstellung der Glieder wird noch eingegangen werden; cf. Anm. 169.

[168] Bei den Jh-Zitaten sind folgende Abweichungen zu notieren, *Lehre Gregors*: *եկի կատարել զկամս* ···, was *arm Vg* Jh 4,34 entspricht: *իմ կերակուր այն է՝ զի արարից զկամս* ··· Ferner: *զաստուած ոք երբէք ոչ ետես, բայց միածին որդին որ ի ծոց Հօր*, *arm Vg* Jh 1,18: *զաստուած ոչ ոք ետես երբէք, բայց միածինն որդի որ է* ···

[169] So z.B. in Mambre, Eznik, Elišē, Ps-Grigor etc. Quellennachweis bei Leloir, *Citations du Nouveau Testament* I, S. 160-161; Esapalean II, col. 29f. Die gleiche Reihenfolge ist zudem interessanterweise im venetianischen Diatessaron bezeugt: cf. Todesco, *Il Diatessaron*, S. 63; siehe ebenso Anm. 160.

[170] Cf. J. Weiss, «Das Logion Mt. 11,25-39», in: *Neutestamentliche Studien* (= Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 6, Leipzig 1914); Idem, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt* I (Göttingen 1907²), S. 321, 322. (Auf beide Beiträge wurde ich durch I. Havener, St. John's University, aufmerksam gemacht.) Siehe z.dem A. Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte* III (Leipzig 1895), S. 200-206; P. Winter, «Matthew XI 27 and Luke X 22 from the First to the Fifth Century: Reflections on the Development of the Text», *Novum Testamentum* I (1956) 140-143, insbesondere S. 142.

«der Geist der Weisheit und Erkenntnis», der auf dem Priester-Heiland ruhen wird:

(arm) Testament Levis XVIII,7[171]
... der Geist der Weisheit und der Erkenntnis[172]
wird auf ihm ruhen in den Wassern.

Am besten ist es wohl die bedeutendsten Quellen in einer Synopsis einander gegenüberzustellen, und dann in der Erläuterung die abschliessenden Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen (*cf. Synopsis, S. 325*).

Generell lässt sich sagen, dass die armenischen Zeugen das Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn (Mt 11,27) mit der Taufe im Jordan auf das engste verbunden haben.

Und noch etwas ergibt sich: Mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit begann auch die griechische Textgestalt einst mit dem Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn, wie dies bereits Weiss überzeugend anhand einer stilistischen Analyse des griechischen Texts dargestellt hat[173]. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die Syrer und Armenier die Taufe so nachhaltig mit Mt 11,27-29 verbanden, kann vermutet werden, dass Mt 11,27-29 ursprünglich wohl generell mit der Taufe Jesu in einem Zusammenhang stand. Dieser Sachverhalt hat sich jedoch nur mehr fragmentarisch in den syrischen und armenischen Quellen erhalten. Darauf lohnt sich noch etwas näher einzugehen.

Die verschiedenen Taufberichte sind durch Tatian in einer Evangelienharmonie miteinander verflochten worden. Dass im syrischen und armenischen Traditionsstrang jedoch auch noch Mt 11,27 miteinbezogen wurde, überrascht zunächst. Der Grund, warum Vers 28-29 mitbenutzt wurden, ist leicht zu erkennen, denn sie handeln ja von der Ruhe, die in den Berichten von der Taufe Jesu im Hebräer-Evangelium und anderen, frühen syrischen und armenischen Quellen eine so grosse Rolle spielen. Bleibt Vers 27, der das Erkennen zwischen Vater und Sohn zum Thema hat.

In zwei bemerkenswerten Beiträgen hat J. Weiss auf die innere Verwandtschaft des Mt-Logions mit dem Erkennen im Johannes-Evangelium hingewiesen[174]. J. Weiss stellt zurecht fest, dass Mt 11,27 johannäisch anmutet. Vers 27 ist verwandt mit Jh 10,14-15:

[171] Cf. Stone, *The Testament of Levi*, S. 124/125.

[172] *Հոգի իմաստութեան եւ գիտութեան*; *griech*: πνεῦμα συνέσεως καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ, De Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, S. 49.

[173] Cf. Anm. 170.

[174] Cf. Weiss, «Das Logion Mt. 11,25-30», S. 128-129; Idem, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, S. 321-322.

arm Vg Mt 11,27	LEHRE GREGORS § 424	LEHRE GREGORS § 416	SCHLÜSSEL DER WAHRHEIT IV
Und niemand erkennt den Sohn wenn nicht der Vater			
			Und so gefiel es dem himmlischen Vater in Erbarmen den neuen Adam [zu schaffen].
		[Siehe, verstehen wird meine Kind es wird erhoben ... und verherrlicht (Js 52,13)]	
	Denn Er ist ein Wissender des Vaters... wie Er auch selbst sagt:		
und niemand erkennt den Vater wenn nicht der Sohn.	Niemand kennt den Vater wenn nicht der Sohn wie auch den Sohn niemand kennt wenn nicht der Vater.	Und wirklich erst von dort her versteht Er [den Vater] [und] wird erkannt als der wahre Sohn Gottes	Wirklich [...] der Mensch Jesus erkannte seinen Vater (cf. Mt 11,27)
			indem Er auch durch die Eingebung des Heiligen Geistes zu ... Johannes kam
		durch die Stimme des Vaters und durch das Herabsteigen des Heiligen Geistes auf Ihn.	
			in Sanftmut und Demut (cf. Mt 11,29b) um von ihm getauft zu werden.

ERLÄUTERUNG

Die *arm Vg* folgt dem griechischen Text in der Reihenfolge der Glieder.	1. In der armenischen Tradition stellt diese Reihenfolge die ursprüngliche Lesart dar, die gut bezeugt ist. 2. Das Mt-Zitat (11,27) steht in einem Taufkontext.	1. Das Isaias-Zitat (52,13) dient als Grundlage für die Erläuterung des Erkennens (und der Erhebung + Verherrlichung) Jesu bei seiner Taufe im Jordan. 2. Mt 11,27 ist in die Taufe eingebettet. 3. Das Mt-Zitat (11,27) ist nur mehr umrisshaft zu erkennen. 4. Mt 11,27 setzt wie üblich mit dem Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn ein.	1. Mt 11,27-29 dient als Grundlage für die Erklärung der Taufe. 2. Mt 11,27 beginnt wie üblich mit dem Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn. 3. Von Mt 11,27 hat sich nur mehr das erste Glied (i.e. das Erkennen des Vaters durch den Sohn) erhalten.

II

Jh 10,14-15:

Γινώσκω τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ γινώσκουσί με τὰ ἐμά,
καθὼς γινώσκει με ὁ πατὴρ κἀγὼ γινώσκω τὸν πατέρα,

bzw. Jh 1,18:

θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε
μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός,
ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

Auch andere Stellen des Johannes-Evangelium sind hier mitzudenken, wie z.B. 6,46 14,6 10,38 14,10-11 12,49. «Die Art Selbstbezeugnis [in Mt 11,27] steht in den Synoptikern einzigartig da. Wie kommt es in Q hinein?», fragt J. Weiss[175]. Dieses Problem musste Weiss ungelöst lassen, und auch in diesem Rahmen kann diese Frage nicht aufgegriffen werden.

Ich möchte hier, d.h. bei der Frage, wie Mt 11,27 in einen Taufkontext kam, auf eine eigentümliche Version des Diatessarons hinweisen, die Jh 1,18 (das ja sachgemäss eine Affinität mit 11,27 zeigt) einen wichtigen Platz innerhalb des Taufberichts eingeräumt hat. Es handelt sich hier um das persische Diatessaron, das aus einer syrischen Vorlage hervorgegangen ist. In dieser Version folgt unmittelbar auf die Taufe Jesu und vor dem Zeugnis des Johannes (= Jh 1,29-37), der Abschnitt von Jh 1,15-28, der im Persischen die Überschrift «Niemand hat Gott je gesehen» (= Jh 1,18) trägt[176]. Diesem Zeugnis soll nun näher nachgegangen werden.

Die Taufe setzt sich im persischen Diatessaron aus folgenden Stellen der vier Evangelien zusammen mit folgenden Überschriften:

a) *Die Taufe Christi im Jordan durch Johannes*

Dabei sind Mt 3,13-15, Mk 1,9b-10a, Lk 3,21b, Mt 3,16b, Lk 3,22b, Mt 3,13 und Lk 3,23b (= «und Jesus war dreissig Jahre alt») zu einer Einheit verschmolzen worden. Unmittelbar darauf folgt die Überschrift:

b) *Niemand hat Gott je gesehen* (= Jh 1,18)

Dieser Abschnitt beginnt mit Jh 1,15 (= «Über dies gab [Johannes] Zeugnis mit lauter Stimme und sagte...») und endet mit Vers 28: «Dies geschah in Bethanien auf der anderen Seite des Jordan, an dem Ort an dem Johannes taufte». Daran schliesst sich der Taufabschnitt von Jh 1,29-37 an, der folgende Überschrift hat:

[175] Weiss, «Das Logion Mt. 11,25-30», S. 128; ebenso S. 129: «Auf alle Fälle bleibt das Problem bestehen: Wie kommen die johannäischen Töne dieses Logions in die synoptische Überlieferung hinein?»

[176] Cf. Messina, *Diatessaron persiano*, S. 36-39; Idem, *Notizia su un Diatessaron persiano*, S. 93-94 (siehe auch S. 65).

c) *Das Zeugnis des Johannes über Christus*[177].

Ob wir aufgrund der Tatsache, dass das persische Diatessaron einer syrischen Vorlage entstammt, diesem persischen Zeugen ein besonderes Gewicht beimessen können? Wenn die Beziehung zwischen dem Vater und dem Sohn in Mt 11,27 johannäisch anmutet, und zudem auffällige Parallelen mit Jh 10,14-15 und 1,18 etc. aufweist, und dann Jh 1,18 im persischen Diatessaron mit der Taufe Jesu aufs engste verkettet wird, so ist es nicht mehr so überraschend ebenso Mt 11,27 (*arm*: «Niemand kennt den Vater...») im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe in den armenischen Quellen anzutreffen. Wir können hier sogar noch einen Schritt weitergehen.

Der interessante Befund im persischen Diatessaron zeigt eine auffällige Übereinstimmung mit der armenischen Taufkatechese. In der *Lehre Gregors* wird bei der Erläuterung der Taufe Jesu Jh 1,18 (unter Einbezug von 4,34) mit Mt 11,27 verbunden.

Lehre Gregors § 424

1 ... Denn *Er* [= der Sohn] *ist ein Wissender* (գիտակ է) *des Vaters* (cf. Mt 11,27 + Jh 1,18)
2 und Einer, der seinen Willen erfüllt (կատարիչ) (cf. Jh 4,34)
3 wie Er auch selbst sagt:
4 «*Niemand kennt den Vater, wenn nicht der Sohn*
5 wie auch den Sohn niemand kennt, wenn nicht der Vater.» (cf. Mt 11,27)
6 Und wiederum sagt Er:
7 Ich kam den Willen dessen zu erfüllen, der mich gesandt hat (cf. Jh 4,34)
8 Und wiederum sagt Johannes:
9 «*Gott hat niemand jemals gesehen, ausser dem eingeborenen Sohn*
10 der im Schoss des Vaters [ist], Er berichtete [von Ihm]. (cf. Jh 1,18)[178]

Es ist wichtig festzuhalten, dass sich diese Aussagen im Taufkontext finden, und dass Mt 11,27 (cf. Zeile 4-5) mit Jh 1,18 (Zeile 9-10) zu einer Einheit zusammengefügt wurde, wobei dreimal hervorgehoben wird, dass Jesus den Vater kennt (Zeile 1, 4, 9). Was das Erkennen, bzw. das Wissen des Sohnes um den Vater im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe im Jordan anbetrifft, stehen sich das persische Diatessaron und die armenische Taufkatechese, zumindest der Sache nach, nahe.

Abschliessend sei noch angemerkt, dass das Erkennen in Vers 27 von Mt 11 durchaus so aufgefasst werden kann, dass Jesu Erkennen des Vaters nichts anderes als die alttestamentliche *Erwählung* meint[179]: Jesus ist (durch das Herabkommen des Gottesgeistes auf Ihn) der Erwählte, dessen Sohnschaft in der Erwählung offenbar wird. Den

[177] Cf. Anm. 176.

[178] Cf. Anm. 166; zur Umstellung der Glieder von Mt 11,27 cf. Anm. 160 u. 169.

[179] So bereits WEISS, «Das Logion Mt 11,25-30», S. 124. Die Erwählung Jesu tritt besonders deutlich im *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* hervor; cf. CONYBEARE, *The Key of Truth*, S. 5-6, 39 (= *arm*), S. 74-75, 105 (= *engl*); *cf. infra*, Text zu Anm. 194.

frühen syrischen und armenischen Quellen nach erfolgte diese Erwählung und das Erkennen zwischen Vater und Sohn am Jordan bei der Taufe.

Das Leitmotiv par excellence für die theologische Reflexion über die Taufe Jesu bietet in der syrischen Frühkirche (und im Anschluss daran auch in Armenien) zum einen das Ruhen des Gottesgeistes in (oder auf) Jesus[180], zum anderen das Erkennen oder/und Ruhen Jesu[181]: Durch das Herabkommen des Gottesgeistes und Sein Ruhen in (auf) Jesus wird Jesus zum Sohn erhoben[182], wobei sich durch den Geist das Erkennen zwischen dem Vater und dem Sohn, und dadurch das Ruhen des Sohnes vollzieht.

Es scheint als ob Mt 11,27-29 sowie die Berichte über die Taufe Jesu zu einer Einheit verschmolzen wurden, um als Ausgangspunkt für die Tauflehre benutzt zu werden: Aufgrund des Sich-Ergiessens der göttlichen Ruhe über Jesus am Jordan, kann nun der Sohn die Ruhe verheissen und weitergeben, da sie (laut syrischem Text) in Ihm selbst begründet ist. Als Grundlage dienten dabei vor allem die syrische Textgestalt von Mt 11,28-29: *Ego quiescere faciam vos ... quia quietus sum ... et invenietis requiem.* Jedoch nicht nur *syr* Mt 11, sondern auch die Aussagen über die Ruhe des Geistes im Hebräer-Evangelium, im Diatessaron-Kommentar (Jh 1,32), sowie diejenigen Stellen aus dem Johannes-Evangelium, die vom Wissen zwischen Vater und Sohn handeln, sind hier mitzudenken[183].

Es wäre durchaus denkbar, dass Vers 27 von Mt 11:

et nemo cognoscit Filium, nisi Pater	*nemo cognoscit Patrem, nisi Filius*
neque Patrem quis cognoscit, nisi Filius	*sicut et Filium nemo cognoscit, nisi*
et cui voluerit Filius revelare	*Pater ...* (= Lehre Gregors § 424)

und die Verse 28-29:

venite ad me ...
ego quiescere faciam vos ...
quia quietus sum et humilis sum in corde
et invenietis requiem animabus vestris,

ursprünglich in einem inneren Sinnzusammenhang standen, und somit das Zeugnis von Lk 10,22 eine sekundäre Entwicklung darstellt[184].

[180] Cf. Hebräer-Evangelium, *(arm)* Diatessaron-Kommentar, Epiphanie-Hymnen, Lehre Gregors.

[181] Cf. *(syr)* Evangelientypus, Lehre Gregors, (teilweise) Epiphanie-Hymnen, Schlüssel der Wahrheit.

[182] Dies stellt die älteste Schicht dar.

[183] Vor allem Jh 10,14-15, aber auch 1,18 6,46 14,6 10,38 14,10-11 12,49.

[184] So bereits WEISS, *cf. supra*, Anm. 170.

Aus den Erläuterungen zur Taufe in den armenischen Quellen geht jedenfalls eine Einheit der Verse 27-29 hervor, und möglicherweise könnte der armenische Befund für die weitere Forschung ins Gewicht fallen.

Es scheint als ob Vers 27, das heisst die gegenseitige Erkenntnis von Vater und Sohn (sowie die Erhebung Jesu zum Sohn), und die Teilhabe des Menschen an diesem innergöttlichen Vorgang, nicht von Vers 28-29 (i.e. die Ruhe des Sohnes und die Teilhabe des Menschen an der Ruhe des Sohnes) getrennt werden kann, denn nicht nur zeigen 27 und 28-29 einen ähnlichen Grundgedanken (nämlich die gnadenhafte Teilhabe des Menschen an der Beziehung zwischen Vater und Sohn), sondern meines Erachtens lässt sich hier auch noch eine andere feine Verkettung zwischen Vers 27 und 28 erkennen: In Vers 28-29 verheisst Jesus laut syrischem Text den Müden und Beladenen eine Teilhabe an der Ihm eigenen Ruhe, die wiederum (wie insbesondere das Hebräer-Evangelium, das (*arm*) Diatessaron-Kommentar, die Epiphanie-Hymnen, aber auch die *Lehre Gregors* zeigten) in dem Ruhen des Heiligen Geistes im Sohn ihren Ausgangspunkt hat.

Worin anders könnte nun die Ruhe des Sohnes bestehen, wenn nicht in dem gegenseitigen Erkennen zwischen Vater und Sohn? Und mit der dem Menschen verheissenen Ruhe, die ihren Ausgang ebenso im Heiligen Geist hat und sich durch den Sohn dem Menschen mitteilt, könnte die Teilhabe des Menschen an der innergöttlichen Erkenntnis zwischen dem Sohn und dem Vater gemeint sein. Das heisst, der Urgrund der Ruhe des Menschen besteht darin, dass ihm die Teilhabe an der Erkenntnis zwischen Vater und Sohn gnadenhaft zuteil wird. So wie auch der Urgrund der Ruhe des Sohnes in das gegenseitige Erkennen zwischen Vater und Sohn hinabreicht, nachdem sich bei der Taufe der Geist des Ruhens in den Sohn gesenkt hatte.

Diese Verheissung und Erfüllung der Teilhabe an dem Erkennen lässt sich anhand der armenischen Quellen gut veranschaulichen[185].

Lehre Gregors § 471

Alle Erkenntnis (*գիտութիւն*) gab und offenbarte Er
seinen Aposteln und Gläubigen und geliebten Freunden[186].

[185] Möglicherweise gehört auch die Variante im venetianischen Diatessaron hierher: «Questa testimoniança deva Iohanni et diçeva: Io vidi Spirito Santo condescender sovra de luj in specie de columba et apoçasse sovra luj [cf. Jh 1,32]. *Et io non cognosceva cotanto nè cossi profundamente, come io lo cognoscei poi.* Ma Dio che me manda a batiçar in aqua şi me disse ...; cf. TODESCO, *Il Diatessaron*, S. 33.

[186] Cf. TER-MKRTČ'EAN, KANAYEANC', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 233.

So wie Jesus bei der Taufe erhoben wurde, so werden auch die Täuflinge zur Ruhe und zum Erkennen erhoben:

§ 406

Lasst uns froh sein in unserer Erlösung
die durch Ihn [= Jesus] die Wege der Verkündigung eröffnet [hat]:
die ihres Lebens, des Lichts, der Güte, der *Ruhe*[187].

Und verstehend werden sie *erkennen*,
wenn sie mit Ihm in das Reich *erhoben*,
zu Mitbewohnern ... werden.

Mögen sie einwilligen zu hören [und] zu verstehen
das heist für die Welt Ihn [= den Sohn] zu *erkennen*. (cf. Mt 11,27)[188]

Auch § 420 kann in diesem Zusammenhang angeführt werden:

§ 420

Deshalb kommt der Geist herab in Taubengestalt
damit Er den Sehenden lehre ...
sich dem Gottessohn zu nähern
um auch dem Geist wohlgefällig (ζωδηj) zu werden ...

Deshalb kommt der Sohn Gottes
um die Taufe ... festzulegen
damit Er wirklich dabei ...
eingesehen [und] *erkannt* wird. (cf. Mt 11,27)[189]

So wie die Ruhe Jesu (cf. Mt 11,29b) allem Anschein nach in dem gegenseitigen Erkennen zwischen Vater und Sohn (cf. Mt 11,27) verwurzelt ist, und durch das Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus am Jordan hervorgerufen wurde, so wird dem Menschen durch Jesus Anteil an diesem Erkennen zwischen Vater und Sohn (Mt 11,27) und an der Ruhe Jesu gewährt (Mt 11,28-29). So wie Jesus am Jordan «der Wohlgefällige» des Vaters wurde (*cf. supra* § 425/10) so werden die Täuflinge in § 420 «dem Geist (!) wohlgefällig werden» (§ 420/5)[190]. Es handelt sich hier um eine bewusste Angleichung der Taufe an das Ereignis der Taufe Jesu im Jordan, wobei der Schwerpunkt vor allem auf der Herabkunft des Geistes liegt. Nochmals sei hier auch auf Abschnitte aus den *Hymni de epiphania* und der *Lehre Gregors* aufmerksam gemacht, da sie den Aspekt des Ruhens besonders hervorheben:

[187] *Cf. supra*, Text zu Anm. 89-91.
[188] Cf. Ter-Mkrtč'ean, Kanayeanc', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 202-203.
[189] *Ibid.*, S. 209.
[190] Hier liegt eine auffällige Parallele mit Mt 3,17 (Mk 1,11 + Lk 3,22) vor; siehe ebenso Mt 12,18; *cf. supra* Anm. 150.

De epiphania VII,1-2

Der Geist brach auf von der Höhe ...
Er liess alles und ruhte auf Einem.
Jetzt aber stieg Er herab und ruhte auf jedem,
der aus dem Wasser geboren ist.

Von allen die Johannes taufte
[nur] auf Einem hat der Geist geruht.
Jetzt aber flog Er herab um auf Vielen zu ruhen;
und den, der jeweils zuerst emporstieg,
liebkoste Er und auf ihm ruhte Er[191].

Lehre Gregors § 407

... Indem Er [= Jesus] wie ein Mensch niedrig
und mehr als alle Menschen sanftmütig und demütig erschien (cf. Mt 11,29b + Num 12,3)
und die Ruhe zeigte durch Geduld in den Trübsalen...[192]

Die innere Verkettung von Mt 11,27 und 28-29 mit der Taufe Jesu ergab sich insbesondere aus der Analyse der *Lehre Gregors*, aber auch aus dem *Schlüssel der Wahrheit*. Insgesamt ist festzuhalten, dass sich in beiden Traditionssträngen — gleich ob es sich um Quellen syrischer oder armenischer Herkunft handelt — der Zusammenhang zwischen der Taufe Jesu und Mt 11,27-29 noch nachweisen lässt. In allen angeführten Zeugen, gleich ob von Syrien oder Armenien, wird die enge Verzahnung zwischen der Taufe Jesu und dem Ruhen und Erkennen greifbar. Im Hebräer-Evangelium, im (*arm*) Diatessaron-Kommentar, in den Epiphanie-Hymnen und zum Teil auch in der *Lehre Gregors* liegt der Nachdruck auf der Vorstellung von der *Ruhe*, wobei insbesondere (*syr*) Mt 11,29b und (*arm*) Jh 1,32 von Bedeutung sind, während im *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* und in der *Lehre Gregors* das *Erkennen* zwischen dem Sohn und dem Vater (Mt 11,27) in den Vordergrund rückt.

Der Ursprung dieser interessanten Tauftheologie ist zweifelsohne in Syrien zu suchen; und durch syrischen Einfluss ist sie dann auch in Armenien verbreitet worden. Die enge Verwandtschaft zwischen der armenischen Frühkirche mit den christlichen Gemeinden Syriens kann nicht mehr bezweifelt werden. In Syrien, und im Anschluss daran auch in Armenien wurde das Ereignis der Herabkunft des Geistes auf Jesus als so ausschlaggebend angesehen, dass sie als der pneumatische Beginn Jesu gewertet werden muss. Bei diesen Aussagen über Jesus, der im Jordan der geisterfüllte Sohn wird, handelt es sich um die ursprüng-

[191] Cf. Anm. 131.
[192] Cf. Anm. 92.

II

liche Form der Geist-Christologie. Diesem pneumatischen Beginn Jesu soll nun noch weiter nachgespürt werden.

III. *Der pneumatische Ursprung Jesu (der Sohn als der Eingeborene bei der Taufe)*

Es lohnt sich nochmals auf § 416 der *Lehre Gregors* zurückzukommen. Die zweimalige Hervorhebung des Erkennens, das «wirklich erst von dort her» (Zeile 1 + 6), nämlich von der Taufe an, seinen Ausgang hat, spricht für ein hohes Alter des Texts. «Wirklich erst von dort her», d.h. von der Taufe im Jordan an (— genauer gesagt: durch das Herabsteigen des Geistes auf Jesus und durch die Proklamation des Vaters / cf. Zeile 4-5) wird Jesus zum Sohn des Vaters «erhoben und erhöht». Erst durch das Herabkommen des Gottesgeistes auf Jesus, erkennt Er sich als Sohn des Vaters, wie auch der Vater Jesus als den Sohn anerkennt.

Wiederum zeigt sich hier eine auffällige Parallele mit dem *Schlüssel der Wahrheit*, der sich von der *Lehre Gregors* (§ 416) nur darin unterscheidet, dass die einmalige Bedeutung der Taufe im Leben Jesu noch breiter aufgefächert wurde als in der *Lehre Gregors*. Der besseren Übersicht halber stelle ich beide Texte einander gegenüber.

Lehre Gregors § 416[193]	Schlüssel der Wahrheit, cap. II[194]
	1 [Erst] jetzt, zur Zeit der Vollendung
	2 empfing Er die Taufe:
Und *wirklich erst von dort her*	3 [*erst*] *dort*
versteht Er [den Vater] (cf. Mt 11,27)	
[und] wird Er erkannt als der wahre Sohn Gottes	
	4 empfing Er die Herrschaft
	5 empfing Er das Hohepriesteramt
	6 empfing Er das Königtum und das Oberhirtenamt[195].

[193] Cf. Anm. 154.

[194] Cf. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, S. 5-6 (= *arm*), S. 74-75 (*engl*; die Übersetzung ist etwas frei).

[195] Die Aussage, dass Jesus bei der Taufe «die Herrschaft, das Hohepriesteramt und das Königtum» erhielt, und dabei gesalbt wurde (cf. Zeile 14) findet sich mehrmals in der *Lehre Gregors*, so z.B. in § 430-433. Hier ist die betreffende Stelle in § 433: «... Moses fertigte das silberne Horn seiner Salbung an, wovon die Priester und Propheten und Könige gesalbt wurden ... bis auf Johannes ... und er gab das Priestertum, die Salbung, die Prophetie und das Königtum unserem Herrn Jesus Christus»; cf. Ter-Mkrtč'ean, Kanayeanc', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 213-215. Diese Vorstellung geht auf syrisches Gedankengut zurück; cf. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 461; Eadem, «Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier».

	7 *Dort* wiederum *wurde Er erwählt* ...
	8 dort wurde Er leuchtend (*պայծառացաւ*) ... [196]
	9 dort wurde ein Bund [mit Ihm] geschlossen (*պայմանադրեցաւ*) [197]
	10 *dort wurde Er verherrlicht* (*փառաւորեցաւ*) ... [198]
durch die Stimme des Vaters und *durch das Herabsteigen des Heiligen Geistes auf Ihn.*	
Denn *wirklich [erst] von dort her*	11 *Wirklich [erst] jetzt,* [d.h.] *dort* [bei der Taufe]
	12 wurde Er zum Haupt der Himmlischen und der Irdischen...
	13 *dort wurde Er mit der Gottheit erfüllt*...[199]
	14 dort wurde Er gesalbt
	15 dort wurde Er angeredet
	16 dort wurde Er der Geliebte ...
	17 dort bekleidete Er sich zudem mit dem lichten Ur-Gewand, das Adam im Garten verlor[200].
	18 *[Erst] jetzt,* [d.h.] *dort wurde Er eingeladen*
	19 *durch den Geist Gottes*
versteht Er [den Vater] (cf. Mt 11,27) [und] wird Er erkannt [als der Sohn]	20 *sich zu unterreden mit dem himmlischen Vater*... (cf. Mt 11,27)
bei der Erfüllung der Weissagung des Vaters: Siehe, verstehen wird *mein Kind,* es *wird* erhoben und erhöht und gar sehr *verherrlicht.* (Js 52,13)	

[196] Der Ursprung dieser Auffassung ist ebenfalls in Syrien beheimatet; cf. A. RESCH, *Agrapha. Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente gesammelt und untersucht in zweiter völlig neu bearbeiteter, durch alttestamentliche Agrapha vermehrter Auflage* (= Text und Untersuchungen 30/3-4, Leipzig 1906), S. 224-226. Als Beispiel sei hier nur Ephräm angeführt, *De nativitate* XXIII,12 (BECK, S. 120 [= *syr*], S. 109 [= *dt*]: «Er kleidete sich in das Wasser der Taufe und Strahlen brachen daraus hervor»; *Sogita* V,48 (*Ibid.*, S. 224 [= *syr*], S. 206 [= *dt*]): «Der Bräutigam stieg in den Jordan hinab. Der Heilige wurde getauft und sofort stieg Er heraus, und es erstrahlte sein Licht über den Menschen». Siehe ebenso Anm. 74 u. 146.

[197] Hier findet sich offensichtlich ein Druckfehler bei CONYBEARE, *The Key of Truth*, S. 6: պաՀմանադրեցաւ anstelle von պայմանադրեցաւ.

[198] Cf. die auffälligen Parallelen mit der *Lehre Gregors* § 416 u. 425; *cf. supra*, Text zu Anm. 153-154; siehe ebenso die Variante im *Testament Levis* (*cf. supra* Text zu 142).

[199] Siehe dazu die in der syrischen und armenischen Tradition verankerten Aussage von dem *Ruhen* des Gottesgeistes in / auf Jesus bei seiner Taufe.

[200] Das «lichte Ur-Gewand» ist ein in der syrischen Literatur häufig vorkommendes Thema; cf. S. BROCK, «Clothing Metaphors as a Meaning of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition», in: M. SCHMIDT, C.F. GEYER, *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter* (= Eichstätter Beiträge 4, Regensburg 1982), S. 11-40. Zum Phänomen des Lichts siehe ebenso Anm. 196 (u. 74, 146).

In beiden Zeugen ist die zentrale Stellung der Taufe im Leben Jesu erkennbar. Die thematische Übereinstimmung zwischen der *Lehre Gregors* und dem *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* ist nicht zu übersehen. Beide Quellen zeigen eine reine Geist-Christologie, deren Ursprung im Taufereignis liegt. Erst dadurch, dass sich der Gottesgeist auf Jesus niederlässt (cf. Zeile 13 und 19), wird Jesus zum Erwählten und zum Sohn des Vaters. Am Jordan wird Jesus zum Sohn erhoben und als Sohn verherrlicht (cf. Zeile 10 und *Lehre Gregors* §§ 416, 425). Dies gilt für den *Schlüssel der Wahrheit* wie für die *Lehre Gregors*, wo dies besonders in § 416 durch das Isaias-Zitat (52,13) deutlich zutage tritt. Isaias leitet in Kapitel 52 mit Vers 13 das Thema des leidenden Gottesknechts ein. Umso mehr überrascht der Einbezug der Erhöhung Jesu in einen Taufkontext. Das gleiche gilt auch von § 425 der *Lehre Gregors*. Auch hier wird die Verherrlichung Jesu (Jh 12,28 16,14 17,1) mit seiner Taufe im Jordan ineinsgesehen. Die Verherrlichung Jesu geht im Johannes-Evangelium unmittelbar der Leidensgeschichte voran. Eigenartig ist, dass in der *Lehre Gregors* die Taufe, d.h. der *Beginn* des öffentlichen Wirkens Jesu und sein *Ende als der Verherrlichte* zusammengestellt wurden. Kein Wort fällt dabei über den Tod am Kreuz oder die Auferstehung; sie sind bewusst ausgeklammert worden bei der Erklärung der Taufe! Die christozentrische Tauftheologie eines Paulus, mit dem Schwerpunkt auf dem Kreuzestod und der Auferstehung, haben generall keine Einfluss auf die Taufkatechese in der *Lehre Gregors* ausgeübt. Das heisst, in der frühesten armenischen Tauftradition, die auf eine syrische Tauftheologie zurückgeht, hat die im Westen massgeblich gewordene Tauflehre des Römerbriefs (6) überhaupt keine Rolle gespielt[201].

Und noch etwas ist festzuhalten. Nicht nur der Tod und die Auferstehung rücken in der frühesten syrischen und armenischen Tauftradition in den Hintergrund, sondern auch die Lehre vom präexistenten Logos werden von einer Geist-Christologie überschattet. Die angeführten

[201] Cf. WINKLER, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, 77, 163, 416, 429-430, 432, 434-438, 440-441, 444-446, 448, 452, 454, 462; weitere Literaturangabe bei Anm. 65. Möglicherweise ist auch die schwer zu deutende 24. Ode Salomos hier einzuordnen, denn auch hier wird auf die Taufe Jesu angespielt, wobei nicht der Kreuzestod und die Auferstehung thematisiert werden, sondern allem Anschein nach die Verbindung zwischen Taufe und *Descensus ad inferos*. Ephräm waren die Oden Salomos offensichtlich bekannt (sollten die Hymnen *De epiphania* tatsächlich auf Ephräm zurückgehen), denn in *De epiphania* IX,1 kehrt dieses Gedankengut wieder; cf. BECK, S. 176 (= *syr*), S. 163 (= *dt*); siehe ebenso *Carmina Nisibena* XXXIX,18; cf. BECK (= CSCO 240-241, Script. syri 102-103, Löwen 1963), S. 28 (= *syr*), S. 21 (= *dt*); zum Zusammenhang zwischen Taufe und Abstieg in die Hölle cf. R. HARRIS, A. MINGANA, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon Re-Edited* II (Manchester/London 1920), S. 22-23.

Texte machen eindeutig klar, dass hier keine Logos-Christologie vorliegt, sondern dass eine Geist-Christologie die Grundlage für die Aussagen über Jesus bilden. Erst dadurch dass Jesus in Gehorsam und «durch die Eingebung des Heiligen Geistes in Sanftmut und Demut (cf. Mt 29b) zu Johannes kam, um von ihm getauft zu werden»[202] wird Jesus als der Erwählte bezeugt, erkennt Jesus als Sohn seinen Vater[203], und wird er vom Vater als der Sohn anerkannt und bestätigt (cf. Taufberichte in den Synoptikern + Mt 11,27).

In den Synoptikern ist es der Vater, der den Sohn bezeugt, während im Hebräer-Evangelium, mit seinem auffälligen Schwerpunkt auf dem Heiligen Geist als Mutter[204], es die Mutter ist, die Jesus als Sohn bestätigt. Dass der Heilige Geist in Gestalt der Mutter auf Jesus bei seiner Taufe ruht, ist in der frühsyrischen Literatur gut bezeugt: In den Verbformen tritt deutlich zutage, dass der Heilige Geist feminin aufgefasst ist[205].

In den armenischen Quellen ist bei der Taufe Jesu vom *Eingeborenen* die Rede. Hier sei nochmals ein Abschnitt von Agathangelos § 425 (Zeile 8-14) zitiert:

Lehre Gregors § 425

8 Und ebenso ruft der Vater bezüglich des *Eingeborenen*:
9 «Dieser ist mein Sohn, *der Eingeborene* (*միածին*)
10 der Wohlgefällige meines Wesens». (cf. Mt 3,17 + 12,18)
11 «Ich werde meinen Geist auf Ihn legen» (Mt 12,18),
12 was auch offenbar wird
13 in dem Herabkommen [des Geistes] auf [Jesus]
14 und dem Ruhen (*հանգչել*) [des Geistes auf Ihm]. (cf. Jh 1,32)[206]

Der Geist wird auf Jesus gelegt werden (Zeile 11), was sich bei der Herabkunft und dem Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus ereignet (12-14). Zudem bezeugt der Vater Jesus als den *Eingeborenen* und wohlgefälligen Sohn bei der Taufe im Jordan (8-10). Hier sind Mt 3,17 und 12,18 zu einer Einheit verschmolzen worden, jedoch mit einer entscheidenden Abweichung: Jesus wird nicht wie in Mt 3,17 als ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός

[202] Cf. CONYBEARE, *The Key of Truth*, S. 11 (= *arm*), S. 79 (= *engl*; die Übersetzung ist etwas frei).

[203] *Ibid.*; siehe ebenso die *Lehre Gregors* § 416 u. 424 (*cf. supra*, Gegenüberstellung der betreffenden Stellen).

[204] Wie allgemein bekannt ist erscheint in der syrischen Literatur bis zum ausgehenden 4. Jh. der Heilige Geist als Mutter; siehe dazu G. WINKLER, «The Pneumatic Orientation in Early Christology» (in Druck).

[205] z.B. *De epiphania* VI,1-2; BECK, S. 160 (= *syr*); zu Aphrahats *Demonstrationes* cf. PARISOT I, col. 289.

[206] Cf. Anm. 147.

(*arm*: *որդի իմ սիրելի*) bezeichnet, sondern als der *Eingeborene*. Die armenische Quelle steht hier nicht alleine; das Hebräer-Evangelium bezeugt eine ganz ähnliche Formulierung beim Taufvollzug: *Tu es filius meus primogenitus*[207]. Die Affinität zwischen dem judenchristlichen Evangelium und der Aussage in der *Lehre Gregors*, nämlich dass der Sohn bei der Taufe der *Erstgeborene* bzw. der *Eingeborene* genannt wird, beweist wiederum die engen Kontakte Armeniens mit einer Überlieferung, die in die Anfänge der Kirche zurückreicht.

Noch etwas lässt sich hier anfügen. Das Hebräer-Evangelium und die *Lehre Gregors* stehen zumindest sachgemäss der Lukas-Variante des Taufberichts (Lk 3,22) nahe, die anstelle des ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα, Psalm 2,7 zitiert: ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. Die Affinität zwischen der armenischen *Lehre Gregors* und in Syrien beheimateten Quellen lässt noch weitere hypothetische Schlussfolgerungen zu. Es könnte sein, dass das armenische *միածին* (*unigenitus*) in der *Lehre Gregors*, und das ähnliche *Primogenitus* im Hebräer-Evangelium, mit dem syrischen *iḥidaya* (bzw. *iḥida*) in einem engeren Zusammenhang stehen, denn beide Formen, *iḥidaya* und *iḥida* geben das ὁ μονογενής (im Johannes-Evangelium) wieder, wie bereits festgestellt wurde[208].

Interessant ist auch, dass nach Aphrahat es *der mütterliche Geist* ist, *der Jesus gebiert*:

(*arm*) *Demonstratio* VI,17
Und beachte, Geliebter,
dass unser Herr,
der von jenem Geist geboren wurde,
nicht vom Bösen versucht wurde,
ehe Er den Geist empfing
in der Taufe (*Variante*: von der Taufe / *մկրտութենէ անտի*). [209]

Der Heilige Geist als Mutter ist ein in Syrien weit verbreitetes Theologoumenon, dessen Ursprung in die Anfänge der Kirche und in semitisches Gedankengut zurückreicht. Von Bedeutung ist dabei, dass

[207] Cf. Anm. 114.

[208] Cf. Anm. 130.

[209] Cf. G. Lafontaine, *La version arménienne des œuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien* I (= CSCO 382-383, Script. armen. 7-8, Löwen 1977), S. 28 (= *arm*), S. 16 (= *lat*); zum syrischen Text cf. Parisot I, col. 301/302: «Animadverte autem, carissime, Dominum, *qui de illo Spiritu natus est*, non fuisse tentatum priusquam Spiritum in baptismate recepisset ab alto.»

sich diese Vorstellung des mütterlichen Gottesgeistes auch in den frühesten armenischen Quellen zur Taufe, und selbst in den liturgischen Gesängen Armeniens noch nachweisen lässt[210]. Das älteste armenische Geschichtswerk Armeniens, die *Agathangeli Historia*, die auch die *Lehre Gregors* einschliesst, spricht mehrmals vom *mütterlichen Schoss des Geistes* im Zusammenhang mit der Taufe:

Lehre Gregors § 412[211]

Und wie Er die erste Erde von den Wassern trennte...
[und] durch das Wasser alle ... Tiere fruchtbar werden liess ...
auf gleiche Weise machte Er den gebärenden Schoss des Taufwassers spriessend...
indem Er nun *den Schoss des unsichtbaren Geistes*
durch das sichtbare Wasser abermals öffnete...[212]

Die Taufe wird in der *Agathangeli Historia* generell als Wiedergeburt «aus dem Wasser und dem *Schoss des Geistes* (ի Հոգւոյ յարգանդէ)» geschildert[213]. Diese Auffassung des Geistes als Mutter, die die Täuflinge aus dem Wasser gebiert, hat sich auch in den Taufhymnen der Armenier erhalten, wie ich in mehreren Publikationen nachgewiesen habe[214]. Hier sind Auszüge aus den wichtigsten Strophen:

Hymnus III/3[215]

Heute *gebiert* von neuem der Geist
zu Söhnen des Lichts
[jene, die ... zum Tod ... geboren werden.]

Hymnus V/2

Heute *gebierst Du*
Söhne Gottes aus dem Wasser.

Hymnus VI/2

Indem Du herabsteigst in das Wasserbecken
gebierst Du Söhne Gottes.

[210] Cf. Winkler, «Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier».

[211] Cf. Ter-Mkrtčean, Kanayeanc', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 205-206; siehe ebenso § 413 u. 679.

[212] Der Hinweis auf den «unsichtbaren Geist» und das «sichtbare Wasser» in der *Lehre Gregors* (§ 412) lässt sich mit dem *Liber Graduum* (XII) vergleichen: «... prout si quis baptizatur *aqua visibili*, baptizatur per illam igne et *spiritu*, quae *invisibilia* sunt...»; cf. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, col. 295/296.

[213] Cf. § 830; Ter-Mkrtčean, Kanayeanc', *Agat'angelay* ..., S. 433.

[214] Cf. Winkler, «Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier»; Eadem, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, S. 456.

[215] In der Numerierung der Hymnen folge ich meinem Artikel, «Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier».

In den jüngst erschienenen Beiträgen zur Ursprungsgeschichte der syrischen und armenischen Tauftradition[216] hat sich herausgestellt, wie sehr die Syrer und Armenier ihre Auffassung von der Taufe nach der Taufe Jesu ausgerichtet haben. Jesu Taufe im Jordan diente als Vorbild, sie ist der Archetypus der christlichen Taufe geworden; ja man kann geradezu von einer Mimesis des Ereignisses am Jordan reden, wie dies bereits Manson mit feinem Gespür erfasst hatte[217], ohne dass ihm das armenische und syrische Material, wie es uns heute bekannt ist, zur Verfügung stand[218]. In den armenischen Quellen ist zweierlei festzuhalten: Der mütterliche Geist nimmt einerseits im Genesisbericht und bei der Taufe der Christen eine Schlüsselstellung ein, andrerseits ist kein Zeugnis auf uns gekommen, das von dem Geist als Mutter *bei der Taufe Jesu* handelt. Nur die apokryphe neutestamentliche Literatur und die Syrer, wie z.B. Aphrahat, sprechen vom Geist als Mutter bei der Taufe Jesu. Das bekannteste Zeugnis ist sicherlich das Tauffragment des Hebräer-Evangeliums, das bereits zitiert wurde[219].

Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass in der frühesten syrischen und armenischen Überlieferung die Taufe Jesu im Jordan als Vorbild für die christliche Taufe diente, wobei die Taufe als *Geburt* dargestellt wurde, lässt sich vermuten, dass auch Jesus im Jordan «geboren» wurde[220]. Die pneumatische Geburt der Täuflinge (cf. Jh 3,5) aus dem Wasser ist in der pneumatischen Geburt Jesu im Jordan verankert. Diese Auffassung von der Zeugung und Geburt Jesu bei der Taufe im Jordan hat sich jedoch nur mehr fragmentarisch erhalten:

1. in der Variante des Taufberichts in Lk (3,22): «Heute habe ich Dich gezeugt»,
2. im Tauffragment des Hebräer-Evangeliums: «*Tu es filius meus primogenitus*»,

[216] Cf. Anm. 65.

[217] Cf. T.W. Manson, «Entry into the Membership of the Early Church», *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1947), S. 25-33.

[218] Bei meiner Untersuchung des Ursprungs des armenischen Initiationsrituale bin ich insbesondere von Mansons früher Arbeit angeregt worden diese Spur weiter zu verfolgen und in Ausführlichkeit anhand der armenischen und syrischen Quellen zu belegen.

[219] Cf. Anm. 114.

[220] Selbst Ephräm weiss noch um diese Überlieferung, wenn er von der neuen Geburt Jesu aus dem Schoss des Jordan spricht, cf. *De ecclesia* XXXVI,3: «Der Fluss in dem Er getauft wurde, empfing Ihn symbolisch aufs neue. Der feuchte Schoss des Wassers empfing Ihn in Reinheit, gebar Ihn in Glanz, und liess Ihn heraussteigen in Herrlichkeit» (*cf. supra*, Anm. 145).

3. in der Tauflehre in der *Lehre Gregors* bei der Anspielung auf Mt 3,17 : «Dieser ist mein Sohn, der Eingeborene»,
4. und die in Syrien und Armenien beheimatete Auffassung über den Heiligen Geist als Mutter, die die Täuflinge aus dem Taufwasser gebiert. Besonders deutlich ist dies in den armenischen Taufhymnen : «Heute gebierst Du Söhne Gottes aus dem Wasser», das mit dem σήμερον der Lukasvariante (3,22) und der Thematik der Zeugung und Geburt *als Sohn Gottes* auf das engste verbunden scheint. So wie Jesus am Jordan durch den mütterlichen Geist der erstgeborene (bzw. eingeborene) Sohn wurde, so werden die Täuflinge aus dem Taufwasser zu Söhnen geboren durch den mütterlichen Geist.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

1. Die Verheissung der Ruhe in Mt 11,28-29 nimmt eine Schlüsselstellung bei der Tauflehre in Syrien und Armenien ein.
2. Die Ruhe, die Jesus in Mt 11,28-29 verheisst, wird laut syrischem (und frühestem armenischen) Text von Mt 11,29b mit der Ruhe Jesu selbst begründet.
3. Die Vorstellung vom Ruhen ist gemäss dem armenischen (und dem ursprünglichen syrischen) Text von Jh 1,32 in dem Ruhen des Gottesgeistes in/auf Jesus bei seiner Taufe im Jordan verankert.
4. Mit dem Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus am Jordan sind die Aussagen über die Erhebung und Verherrlichung Jesu bei seiner Taufe, sowie das Erkennen zwischen dem Sohn und dem Vater (Mt 11,27) auf das engste verbunden.
5. Der Ursprung der Geist-Christologie liegt in der Taufe Jesu im Jordan. Die angeführten Quellen zeigen noch deutlich die ursprüngliche Auffassung über den geisterfüllten Jesus, der vom Jordanereignis an der eingeborene (bzw. erstgeborene) Sohn des Vaters ist. Die Geist-Christologie überschattet alle anderen Aussagen über Jesus. Besonders auffällig ist dabei das völlige Fehlen einer Logos-Christologie : die Aussagen über Jesus sind in eine reine Geist-Christologie eingebettet. Das Ausgangsprinzip ist hier der mütterliche Geist, der Jesus (und die Täuflinge) aus dem Wasser gebiert. In der ältesten Schicht der syro-armenischen Tauflehre ist weder vom (präexistenten) Logos, noch von der im Westen so vorrangigen, christozentrischen Todesmystik in Paulus (Rm 6) jemals die Rede. Die Achse, um die sich hier die relevanten Aussagen drehen, ist der mütterliche Geist, der zu Beginn der Schöpfung alles Leben hervorbringt, und sich am Jordan auch auf Jesus niedersenkt um

in Ihm zu ruhen, wobei Jesus zum geisterfüllten Sohn erhoben und als der eingeborene / erstgeborene Sohn verherrlicht wird, und zugleich der Sohn den Vater erkennt wie auch der Vater den Sohn erkennt und als Sohn bezeugt.

6. Alle angeführten Quellen gehören einem gemeinsamen Traditionsstrang an, dessen Ursprung in Syrien ist.

III

Ein Beitrag zum armenischen, syrischen und griechischen Sprachgebrauch bei den Aussagen über die Inkarnation in den frühen Symbolzitaten

Seit den klassischen Studien über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des griechischen Symbolums von Caspari, Kattenbusch, Harnack, Lietzmann und einigen anderen, sowie der Studie über das frühe syrische Credo von Connolly aus dem Jahre 1906, ist erst in letzter Zeit wieder das Interesse an der Evolution der verschiedenen Glaubensbekenntnisse erwacht und es sind mittlerweile, insbesondere was den syrischen Traditionszusammenhang anbetrifft, wichtige Erkenntnisse der Öffentlichkeit vorgestellt worden.[1]

Über die historische Entfaltung des armenischen Glaubensbekenntnisses liegt noch keine Monographie vor.[2] Deshalb habe ich mich seit mehreren Jahren der systematischen Erforschung aller relevanten armenischen Quellen von den Anfängen

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[1] Vgl. insbesondere die Beiträge Vööbus, Gribomont, de Halleux, Brock und van Rompay: A. Vööbus, New Sources for the Symbol in Early Syriac Christianity, VigChr 26 (1972) 4/295; J. Gribomont, Le symbole de foi de Séleucie-Ctésiphon (410), in: R.H. Fischer (Hg.), A Tribute to A. Vööbus, Chicago 1977, 283-294; ders., La catéchèse de Sévère d'Antioche et le Credo, ParOr 6/7 (1975/76) 125-158, bes. 154; A. de Halleux, Le symbole des évêques perses au synode de Séleucie-Ctésiphone (410), in: G. Wiessner (Hg.), Erkenntnisse und Meinungen II, GOF I/17, Wiesbaden 1978, 161-190; ders., La Philoxénienne du symbole, in: Symposium Syriacum 1976, OrChrA 205, Rom 1978, 295-315; ders., La falsification du symbole de Chalcédoine dans le *synodicon* nestorien, in: Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier, Toulouse 1979, 375-384; ders., La deuxième lettre de Philoxène aux monastères du Beit Gaugal, Muséon 96 (1983) 5-79; S. Brock, Clothing Metaphors as a means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition, in: M. Schmidt/C.F. Geyer (Hg.), Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter, Eichstätter Beiträge 4, Regensburg 1982, 11-38, bes. 12.15-16.23-26; L. van Rompay, Proclus of Constantinople's "Tomus ad Armenios" in the Post-Chalcedonian Tradition, in: C. Laga/J.A. Munitez/L. van Rompay (Hg.), After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Professor Albert van Roey for his Seventieth Birthday, OLoAnalecta 18, Löwen 1985, 425-449, bes. 440-443.

[2] Zum armenischen Glaubensbekenntnis siehe vorläufig: J. Catergian, De fidei symbolo quo Armenii utuntur observationes. Opus posthumum, Wien 1893; N. Akinean/R.P. Casey, Two Armenian Creeds, HThR 24 (1931) 143-151; L. Frivold, The Incarnation: A Study of the Doctrine of the Incarnation in the Armenian Church in the 5th and 6th Centuries According to the Book of Letters, Oslo 1981; G. Winkler, Eine bemerkenswerte Stelle im armenischen Glaubensbekenntnis: *Credimus et in Sanctum Spiritum qui descendit in Jordanem proclamavit missum*, OrChr 63 (1979) 130-162; dies., A Remarkable Shift in the 4th Century Creeds: An Analysis of the Armenian, Syriac, and Greek Evidence, in: E.A. Livingstone (Hg.), StPatr 18 (1982) 1397-1401; W. Cramer, Der Heilige Geist und die Taufe Jesu im armenischen Glaubensbekenntnis, OrChr 65 (1981) 40-61.

bis zum sechsten Jahrhundert und der Untersuchung dieser verschiedenen Dokumente zugewandt und hoffe, diese Studie in naher Zukunft veröffentlichen zu können, nachdem ich meine Zwischenergebnisse auf der Konferenz für patristische Studien (Oxford 1983), dem *Symposium Syriacum* (Groningen 1984) berichtet und in den USA (Dumbarton Oaks 1988) einen ersten Überblick über das armenische Glaubensbekenntnis nach Ephesus und Chalcedon gegeben habe.

In diesem Artikel möchte ich auf einige enge Parallelen zwischen dem Wandel im armenischen Vokabular und den syrischen Termini im Zusammenhang mit den Aussagen über die Menschwerdung aufmerksam machen, die in den griechischen Glaubensbekenntnissen im allgemeinen mit σαρκωθέντα und ἐνανθρωπήσαντα wiedergegeben werden. Mir ist nur ein griechisches Symbolum bekannt, nämlich die Formel der Synode von Sardica, die die Inkarnation als 'Bekleidung' umschreibt: ... ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἐνεδύσατο ... ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,[3] während die frühen syrischen und armenischen häufig davon sprechen, daß sich der Sohn bei der Menschwerdung in "einen Leib hüllte". (NB: nicht "in das *Fleisch* [σάρξ]").

1. Das ursprüngliche Vokabular

Zur ältesten syrischen Terminologie zählen, wie Brock u.a. gezeigt haben: "er zog einen/unseren Leib an (ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ)", so z.B. in den syrischen Thomasakten ("du zogst einen Leib an"), in Aphrahats *Demonstratio* XXI,20 ("er zog einen Leib an"), in Ephräms *Hymni de Virginitate* XXIX,1-2 ("er ... zog einen schwachen Leib an") und *de Nativitate* XXII,39 ("er zog unseren sichtbaren Leib an"), in der *Doctrina Addai* ("obwohl er einen Leib anzog") mit den Varianten: "er zog die/unsere Menschheit (ܐܢܫܘܬܐ) an", so z.B. in den Thomasakten, Aphrahats *Demonstratio* III,16 bzw. die Bekleidung mit "unserer Natur (ܟܝܢܐ)", "Gleichnis" (ܕܡܘܬܐ)" etc.[4]

Diese Ausdrucksweise finden wir ebenso in den ältesten armenischen Zeugen. Dies ist nicht weiter verwunderlich, wenn man bedenkt, daß die armenische Kirche

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[3] A. Hahn, BSGR, ^{3}1897 = 1962, 189.

[4] Vgl. S. Brock, Clothing Metaphors (wie Anm. 1) 23f.; R.H. Connolly, The Early Syriac Creed, ZNW 7 (1906) 202-223; siehe dazu A. de Halleux, Le Symbole (wie Anm. 1) 163; ders., Deuxième lettre (wie Anm. 1) 14; L. van Rompay, Proclus (wie Anm. 1) 440-443.

bis in die ersten vier Jahrzehnte des fünften Jahrhunderts in einem engen Kontakt mit der antiochenischen Christologie stand, der offensichtlich über die Vermittlung von Edessa zustande gekommen war.[5] Zudem ist bekannt, daß die persarmenische Kirche von 429 bis 437 nicht von armenischen, sondern von syrischen Patriarchen geleitet wurde: Brk'išoy (429-432), Š(a)muēl (432-437); und der iranophile Armenier Surmak hatte das höchste Kirchenamt von 428 bis 429 und nochmals von 437 bis 444 inne.[6]

(a) Das *զգեցաւ մարմին* (zgec'aw marmin = "er zog einen Leib an")
[syr.: ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ]

Die in der *Agathangeli Historia* eingebettete *Lehre des heiligen Grigor*, die an manchen Stellen eine der ältesten Schichten der Christologie aufweist,[7] hat in § 377 die Formel: *եւ զգեցաւ մարմին* (ew zgec'aw marmin / "und er zog einen Leib an")[8]; in § 381 heißt es ebenso: *սակայն թէպէտ եւ զգեցաւ մարմին* ... (sakayn t'ēpēt ew zgec'aw marmin / "auch wenn er einen Leib anzog ...").[9] Das Credo des Grigor in Agat'angełos § 95 kennt die Erweiterung: *որ ... զգեցաւ զմարմին մարդկութեան* (or ... zgec'aw zmarmin mardkut'ean / "der ... den Leib unserer Menschheit anzog") und kurz darauf wird der gleiche Gedanke weitergeführt: ... *զի զգեցցի զմարմին մարդկեղէն* (... zi zgec'c'i zmarmin mardkełēn / "... denn er würde den menschlichen Leib anziehen").[10] Dazu sind auch die ähnlichen Formulierungen in Ełišē heranzuziehen: "er hielt es nicht für eine Beschimpfung, seinen geschaffenen Leib anzuziehen" (*զգենուլ զիւր ստեղծուած մարմինս* / zgenul ziwr stełcuac' marmins) und: "denn wenn ... er auch einen leidensfähigen Leib

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[5] Vgl. P. Peeters, Pour l'histoire des origines de l'alphabet arménien, REArm 9 (1929) 203-237 [= Recherches I, 171-207]; ders., Jérémie, évêque de l'Ibérie perse, AnBoll 51 (1933) 5-33; G. Winkler, An Obscure Chapter in Armenian Church History (428-439), REArm 19 (1985) 85-180; dies., Koriwns Biographie des Mesrop Maštoc' übersetzt und kommentiert, OrChrA 1993 [*im Druck*]), Kommentar zu §§ 33-35, 43-46, 135-141, 159-161.

[6] Vgl. G. Winkler, Obscure Chapter (wie Anm. 5) 94-106.171-172; dies., Koriwn (wie Anm. 5) Kommentar zu §§ 132, 135, 151-161, 169.

[7] Vgl. G. Winkler, Ein bedeutsamer Zusammenhang zwischen der Erkenntnis und Ruhe in Mt 11,27-29 und dem Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus am Jordan. Eine Analyse zur Geist-Christologie in syrischen und armenischen Quellen, Muséon 96 (1983) 284-289.300.302-326.

[8] Vgl. Agat'angełos, § 377; kritische Ausgabe von G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean, St. Kanyeanc', Agat'angełay Patmut'iwn Hayoc' (= Patmagirk' Hayoc' I/2), Tiflis 1909, 188 (§ 377).

[9] Vgl. Agat'angełos, 190 (§ 381).

[10] Ebd., 56 (§ 95).

anzog ..." (զի թէ ... եւ զգեցաւ մարմին չարչարելի / zi t'ē ... ew zgec'aw marmin č'arč'areli),[11] was ebenso mit "einen Leib des Leidens" übersetzt werden könnte.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die Korrespondenz im *Girk' T'lt'oc'*[12] von Bedeutung, präziser: (1) der Beginn des ersten Briefs, der im *Girk' T'lt'oc'* noch irrtümlich dem verstümmelten Brief des Proklus einverleibt wurde, in Wirklichkeit jedoch das Fragment eines Briefes des Eznik an Maštoc' darstellt,[13] (2) der angebliche Brief des Sahak an Proklus, wobei wahrscheinlich nur das für unsere Untersuchung maßgebliche Credo authentisch ist.[14] Beide Zeugen sind dem vierten Jahrzehnt des fünften Jahrhunderts zuzurechnen.[15] Auch im Brief des Eznik findet sich dieses Vokabular: "... indem das ... Wort ... einen Leib anzog (զգեցեալ մարմին / zgec'eal marmin) ...";[16] und im sogenannten Brief des Sahak heißt es: "über die 'Gewandung in einen Leib' (վասն մարմնազգեցութեան / vasn marmnazgec'ut'ean) des Sohnes glauben wir ...".[17] Der armenische Text übersetzt an dieser Stelle das περὶ ... τῆς ... σαρκώσεως der Ekthesis.

In der Lehre des heiligen Grigor § 515 ist das verwandte զի զմեր հողեղէն բնութիւն զգեցաւ (zi zmer holełēn bnut'iwn zgezaw / "denn er zog unsere irdene Natur an") belegt, das sich auch in dem an Agat'angelos angehängten Credo findet: "und unsere irdene Natur zog er an" (եւ զմեր հողեղէն բնութիւն զգեցաւ / ew zmer holełēn bnut'iwn zgezaw).[18] Vom Anziehen unseres 'Gleichnisses' spricht das Credo des Grigor § 80: "... der du deinen ... Sohn sandtest ..., der kam, um anzuziehen das 'Gleichnis' unseres Leibes" (զգենուլ զմեր նմանութիւնս մարմնոյ

[11] Vgl. Ełišē; kritische Ausgabe von E. Tēr-Minasean, Ełišēi vasn Vardanay ew Hayoc' paterazmin, Erevan 1957, 39 (Z. 15-16), 147 (Z. 21).

[12] Vgl. Y. Izmireanc' (Hg.), Girk' T'lt'oc', Tiflis 1901.

[13] Vgl. Girk' T'lt'oc', 1-2. Siehe dazu folgende Untersuchungen: A. Vardanean, T'ułt' Prokleay episcoposi ař surbn Sahak hayrapet Hayoc' ew ař surbn Maštoc', Handēs Amsorya 35 (1921) col. 1-25 [= Dasakan manr bnagirner hamematut'iwnneru II, Wien 1923]; M. Tallon, Livre des Lettres (Girk' T'lt'oc'). Documents arméniens du Ve s. Premier groupe, Beirut 1955, 47-53; G. Winkler, Obscure Chapter (wie Anm. 5) 113-115.

[14] Girk' T'lt'oc', 9-13 (Credo: 10-11); siehe dazu G. Winkler, Obscure Chapter (wie Anm. 5) 136-143.

[15] Vgl. G. Winkler, Obscure Chapter (wie Anm. 5) 115.136-141.172.

[16] Vgl. Girk' T'lt'oc', 1.

[17] Ebd., 10.

[18] Vgl. Agat'angelos, 256 (§ 515), 473 (XIV).

/ zgenul zmer nmanut'iwns marmnoy).[19]

Interessant ist auch die Tatsache, daß die zweite Version der armenischen Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius (VII,6) eine ähnliche Formulierung kennt: "Und über ... das Wort, das die Menschheit anzog" (զգեցաւ զմարդկութիւնն / zgec'aw zmardkut'iwnn), während in der ersten Version das ebenso alte բանին առելոյ մարդկութիւն / banin aṙeloy mardkut'iwn ("... die Annahme der Menschheit") bezeugt ist.[20] Und in der armenischen Textgestalt von Ephräms Kommentar zum Diatessaron heißt es: "Es kam das Wort und zog einen Leib an" (զգեցաւ մարմին / zgec'aw marmin).[21]

Außer diesen Formulierungen sind auch noch folgende alte Wendungen anzuführen: առ մարմին / aṙ marmin ("er nahm einen Leib an"), was dem syrischen ܢܣܒ ܦܓܪܐ entspricht, und մարդ եղեւ / mard elew ("er wurde Mensch") mit dem syrischen ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ Äquivalent, die später dann an das griechische Vokabular (ἐσαρκώθη und ἐνανθρώπησε) näher angeglichen wurden: aus զգեցաւ մարմին / zgec'aw marmin und առ մարմին / aṙ marmin (syr.: ܢܣܒ ܦܓܪܐ , ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ) wird մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw (syr.: ܐܬܓܫܡ, später ܐܬܒܣܪ), was mit dem σαρκωθέντα korrespondiert, und aus մարդ եղեւ / mard elew (syr.: ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ) wird մարդացաւ / mardac'aw (syr.: ܐܬܒܪܢܫ), das das ἐνανθρωπήσαντα wiedergibt.

(b) Das առ մարմին /aṙ marmin ("er nahm einen Leib an")
[syr.: ܢܣܒ ܦܓܪܐ; vgl. griech.: σάρκα ἀναλαβόντα]

Die Wendung "er nahm einen Leib an" ist ebenso sehr alt. Damit sind einige antiochenische Formulierungen und das in Syrien geläufige ܢܣܒ ܦܓܪܐ zu vergleichen. In dem in den *Constitutiones Apostolorum* zitierten Credo heißt es: καὶ σάρκα ἀναλαβόντα,[22] dazu ist die Sardicensische Formel heranzuziehen: ... ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἀνέλαβεν ἐκ Μαρίας ... und die Formel der Synode von Antiochien

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[19] Ebd., 46 (§ 80).
[20] Vgl. H.A. Čarean (Hg.), Ewsebiosi Kesarac'woy Patmut'iwn ekelec'woy yeleal yasorwoyn i hay i hingerord daru parzabaneal nor t'argmanut'eamb i yoyn bnagrēn, Venedig 1877, 530.
[21] Vgl. L. Leloir, Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant. Version arménienne, CSCO 137 Ar. 1, Löwen 1953, 1.
[22] Vgl. A. Hahn, BSGR, 140.

(341): καὶ σάρκα ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου ἀνειληφότα ...[23]

Diese Ausdrucksweise findet sich z.B. in folgenden armenischen Zeugen: in der Lehre des heiligen Grigor § 368: *առ զմարմին ի կուսէ* / aṙ zmarmin i kusē ("er nahm den Leib an von einer Jungfrau"), in § 379 *որ առ զմարմին* ... / or aṙ zmarmin ... ("der den Leib annahm"), und in § 387: *եւ առ Աստուածորդին մարմին ի կուսէ* / ew aṙ Astuačordin marmin i kusē ("und der Gottessohn nahm einen Leib an von einer Jungfrau"),[24] sowie in dem an Agat'angełos angehängten Credo: *առ մարմին ի կուսէն* / aṙ marmin i kusēn ("er nahm einen Leib an von der Jungfrau").[25] Außer diesem Geschichtswerk, in das auch die Lehre des heiligen Grigor integriert wurde, sind noch die Geschichte des Ełišē und Łazar P'arpec'i zu nennen. In Ełišē finden wir: ... *նոյնպէս* ... *առ զմարմինն*/ ... noynpēs ... aṙ zmarminn ("so nahm er auf gleiche Weise den Leib an"), und anderer Stelle: *որ եկն եւ էառ ի սուրբ կուսէն զմարմին մերոյ բնութեանս* / or ekn ew ēaṙ i surb kusēn zmarmin meroy bnut'eans ("der kam und von der heiligen Jungfrau den Leib unserer Natur annahm").[26] Bei Łazar ist folgende Form bezeugt: "und indem du alles Leid auf dich nahmst in deinem Leib, den du von der heiligen Jungfrau ... annahmst (*զոր ի սուրբ ... կուսէն առեր* / zor i surb ... kusēn aṙer) ...".[27] In dem wahrscheinlich aus dem Jahre 435/436 stammenden Credo, das sich in dem sogenannten Brief des Sahak findet,[28] ist "indem er Seele und Leib annahm" (*առեալ շունչ եւ մարմին* / aṙeal šunč ew marmin) belegt.[29]

(c) Das *մարդ եղեւ* / mard ełew ("er wurde Mensch") [syr.: ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ]

Auch hierfür lassen sich eine Reihe von frühen Zeugen anführen: so z.B. die Lehre des heiligen Grigor § 377 mit: *եւ ճշմարիտ մարդ եղեւ* / ew čšmarit mard ełew ("und er wurde wahrlich Mensch"), und in § 382: *նա եկն եղեւ մարդ* / na ekn ełew mard ("er kam, wurde Mensch"). Am Ende des Geschichtswerks des Agat'angełos

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[23] Ebd., 183.189.

[24] Vgl. Agat'angelos, 184 (§ 368), 190 (§ 379), 193 (§ 387).

[25] Ebd., 473 (XII).

[26] Vgl. Ełišē, 39 (Z. 8), 87 (Z. 4).

[27] Vgl. Łazar P'arpec'i, kritische Ausgabe von G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean/S. Malxasean, Łazaray P'arpec'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc' ew t'ułt'aṙ Vahan Mamikonean, Tiflis 1904, 61 (Z. 39-40).

[28] Vgl. G. Winkler, Obscure Chapter (wie Anm. 5) 136-141.172.

[29] Vgl. Girk' T'łt'oc', 10.

findet sich ein Credo, in dem es heißt: եւ եղեւ մարդ կատարեալ / ew elew mard katareal ("und er wurde ein vollkommener Mensch")[30]. Bei Ełišē finden wir: եւ եղեւ մարդ ճշմարտիւ / ew elew mard čšmartiw ("und er wurde wahrhaft Mensch").[31] In die *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (P'awstos) wurden mehrere Glaubensbekenntnisse aufgenommen, darunter ein Credo, das dem Patriarchen Nersēs († 373) zugeschrieben wird, in dem diese Formulierung im Partizip steht: եւ մարդ եղեալ / ew mard ełeal ("indem er auch Mensch wurde").[32] So auch in dem Brief des Eznik, der um 435 abgefaßt worden sein dürfte:[33] ... եղեալ վասն մեր մարդ / ... ełeal vasn mer mard ("... indem er ... für uns Mensch geworden ist").[34] In einer dem Patriarchen Yovhannēs Mandakuni (478-490) zugeschriebenen Homilie heißt es wiederum: եւ մարդ եղեւ / ew mard elew ("und er wurde Mensch"), was nochmals belegt ist: "das Wort Gottes [ist] auf Erden gekommen und Mensch geworden" (մարդ եղեալ / mard ełeal).[35] Im Credo des Patriarchen Yovhannēs II (557-578) finden wir folgenden Wortlaut: "... am Ende der Zeiten wurde ... das Wort Gottes ... Mensch (մարդ եղեւ / mard elew) ...".[36] Auch noch im Credo, mit dem das Horologion beginnt, ist diese alte Wendung nachweisbar: եւ եղեւ ... մարդ կատարեալ / ew elew ... mard katareal ("und er wurde ... ein vollkommener Mensch").[37]

2. Das Aufkommen von մարմնացաւ /marmnac'aw ("er 'verleiblichte sich'") in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts [syr.: ܐܬܒܣܪ; vgl. griech.: σαρκωθέντα]

[30] Vgl. Agat'angelos, 189 (§ 377), 191 (§ 382), 473 (XII).
[31] Vgl. Ełišē, 39 (Z. 10).
[32] Vgl. P'awstos IV,5, 90 (= P'awstosi Buzandac'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc'; Venedig 1933; N. Garsoian, The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'). Translation and Commentary, Cambridge/Mass., 117.
[33] Vgl. G. Winkler, Obscure Chapter (wie Anm. 5) 113-115.
[34] Vgl. Girk' T'lt'oc', 1 (hier irrtümlich in den Brief des Proklus eingefügt, wie bereits dargelegt wurde; vgl. oben S. 502).
[35] Vgl. Girk' T'lt'oc', 212f.
[36] Vgl. Girk' T'lt'oc', 82.
[37] Vgl. Žamagirk' (Jerusalemer Ausgabe von 1955) 6.

Im syr. Symbolum von 410 finden wir die alten Formen ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ und ܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ, das syrische Äquivalent zu σαρκωθέντα und ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. Jedoch noch in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts bildeten die Syrer aus der Konstruktion 'Verb + Substantiv' ein neues Verb, nämlich ܐܠܒܫ ܦܓܪ, um das σαρκωθέντα in etwa wiederzugeben.[38]

Bei den Armeniern ist diese Umgestaltung am frühesten in dem Credo im sogenannten Brief des Patriarchen Sahak nachweisbar, das, wie gesagt, mit dem Jahr 435/436 verbunden sein dürfte. Hier ist der Text mit dem Neologismus: "... der herabstieg und 'sich verleiblichte' (մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw) ...".[39] Auch im Brief des Patriarchen Babgēn (um 505/506) treffen wir dieses in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts aufgekommene Wort im Symbolfragment II an: "Wir bekennen den Vater und den Sohn ..., der 'sich verleiblichte' (մարմնացեալ / marmnac'eal) aus der heiligen Jungfrau ...".[40] Und dann gehört es zum normalen Bestand des Glaubensbekenntnisses, wie das Credo des Patriarchen Yovhannēs II (557-578) zeigt: "... indem er 'sich verleiblichte' (մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw) aus der heiligen Jungfrau ...".[41]

Die Präsenz dieses Vokabulars in dem Credo, das in den *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* dem Patriarchen Nersēs († 373) in den Mund gelegt wird, dürfte auf eine später erfolgte Änderung des Texts zurückzuführen sein. Wahrscheinlich ist das "... in dem 'Leibwerden' (ի մարմնանալ / i marmnanal) aus der heiligen Jungfrau ...",[42] aus einem ursprünglichen "er nahm einen Leib an" (առ մարմին / aṙ marmin) hervorgegangen. Das gleiche gilt auch von dem Symbolzitat bei der Eucharistie an einer anderen Stelle in den *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*. Anstelle von "der sich aus der heiligen Jungfrau 'verleiblichte' (մարմնացաւ /marmnac'aw)

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[38] Vgl. A. de Halleux, La Philoxénienne du symbole (wie Anm. 1) 304-305; ders., Le symbole (wie Anm. 1) 182.
[39] Vgl. Girk' T'łt'oc', 10.
[40] Ebd., 50.
[41] Ebd., 82.
[42] Vgl. P'awstos IV,5, 91; Garsoïan, 117.

...";[43] dürfte einst առ մարմին / ar̄ marmin ("er nahm einen Leib an") gestanden haben. Wahrscheinlich muß auch Ełišē in diesem Zusammenhang zitiert werden. Die bei ihm belegte Stelle mit einem մարմնացաւ ի մարդկանէ / marmnac'aw i mardkanē ("er 'verleiblichte sich' aus einem Menschen")[44] ist wohl aus einem ursprünglichen զգեցաւ մարմին / zgec'aw marmin ("er zog einen Leib an") entstanden, da in allen Symbolzitaten im Ełišē noch das alte Vokabular überwiegt.

Dabei ist die Tatsache bemerkenswert, daß in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts diese Umbildung nur das nicänische σαρκωθέντα betraf, jedoch weder bei den Syrern noch den Armeniern ein Versuch unternommen wurde, auch das ἐνανθρωπήσαντα genauer in ihren Formeln widerzuspiegeln.

3. Die Einführung des մարդացաւ / mardac'aw ("er 'homisierte sich'") und somit die Kombination von մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw und մարդացաւ / mardac'aw zu Beginn des sechsten Jahrhunderts [syr.: ܐܬܓܫܡ und ܐܬܒܪܢܫ; vgl. griech.: σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα]

Zu Beginn des sechsten Jahrhunderts kam bei den Syrern ܐܬܓܫܡ und ܐܬܒܪܢܫ auf,[45] was eine wörtliche Angleichung an das nicänische σαρκωθέντα und ἐνανθρωπήσαντα darstellt. Bei den Armeniern zeichnet sich folgendes Bild ab: Im Gegensatz zu den Syrern behielten sie das "er 'ver*leib*lichte sich'" (մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw) bei, und für մարդ եղեւ /mard elew ("er wurde Mensch") schufen sie մարդացաւ / mardac'aw ("er 'inhomisierte sich' = ἐνανθρώπησε"); wann dies geschah, ist etwas problematisch.

Zu den frühesten Zeugen für diese Angleichung an das griechische Vokabular zählen (1) eine im *Girk' T'łt'oc'* dem Patriarchen Yovhannēs Mandakuni (478-490) zugeschriebene *Demonstratio* (ապացոյց / apac'oyc') und (2) das Credo des Patriarchen Babgēn (um 505/506). Die Autorschaft dieser *Demonstratio* ist nicht wirklich abgesichert. Sollte jedoch Yovhannēs Mandakuni, der noch vor dem Ausgang des fünften Jahrhunderts der armenischen Kirche vorstand, tatsächlich diese

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[43] Vgl. P'awstos V,28, 228; Garsoïan, 208.
[44] Vgl. Ełišē, 168 (Z. 4).
[45] Vgl. A. de Halleux, La Philoxénienne du symbole (wie Anm. 1) 310-311.

Demonstratio geschrieben haben, so muß auch noch eine spätere Interpolation dieses Textes in Erwägung gezogen werden, denn die Kombination von *մարմնացաւ* / marmnac'aw und *մարդացաւ* / mardac'aw ist vielleicht erst Anfang des sechsten Jahrhunderts aufgekommen. Hier ist die für uns relevante Stelle in Mandakuni: "... indem er herabstieg ..., 'verleiblichte er sich' und 'inhomisierte er sich' (*մարմնացաւ եւ մարդացաւ* / marmnac'aw ew mardac'aw) ...".[46] Ganz ähnlich heißt es auch im Credo des Babgēn: "... und der, indem er ... herabstieg, 'sich verleiblichte' und 'sich inhomisierte' (*մարմնացաւ եւ մարդացաւ* / marmnac'aw ew mardac'aw) ...".[47] Später gehört diese Verbkombination dann zum festen Bestand des Symbolums wie die Glaubensbekenntnisse des Katholikos Abraham (607-611/612) und Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i (6.-7. Jh.),[48] aber auch das Credo im Taufordo und in der Eucharistie zeigen.[49]

Sicherlich ist die Präsenz dieser Verbformen im Credo des Grigor in Agat'angelos und in den *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* einer späteren Interpolation des Textes zuzurechen. Das Credo des Grigor hat an dieser Stelle folgenden Wortlaut: "... er wurde geboren im Leib von der Jungfrau, und er 'inhomisierte' und 'verleiblichte' sich (*մարդացաւ եւ մարմնացաւ* / mardac'aw ew marmnac'aw) wie wir ...".[50] Auffällig ist hier auch die Inversion der Verben. In dem Credo, das die Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk' dem Patriarchen Nersēs zuschreibt, heißt es: "als er aber sah, daß der Vater von den Menschen verachtet blieb, sprang, kam [und] stieg er herab, ... aus der Jungfrau, 'verleiblichte' [und] 'inhomisierte er sich' (*մարմնացաւ մարդացաւ* / marmnac'aw mardac'aw) ...".[51]

[46] Vgl. Girk' T'łt'oc', 33.
[47] Vgl. bessere Lesart im Knik' Hawatoy (= K. Tēr Mkrtč'ean, Knik' Hawatoy əndhanur surb ekelec'woy yułłap'aṙ ew s. hogekir harc'n meroc' dawanut'eanc', Ējmiacin 1974, 141.
[48] Ebd., 55.
[49] Vgl. J. Catergian [= Y. Gat'rčean], Die Liturgien bei den Armeniern. Fünfzehn Texte und Untersuchungen, hg. von J. Dashian [= Y. Tašean], Wien 1897, 659.
[50] Vgl. Agat'angelos, 46 (§ 80).
[51] Vgl. P'awstos IV,5, 90; Garsoïan, 117.

4. Isoliertes մարդացաւ / mardac'aw ("er 'inhomisierte sich' = ἐνανθρώπησε")

Äußerst selten steht das մարդացաւ / mardac'aw ("er 'inhomisierte sich'") allein, d.h. ohne dem մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw ("er 'verleiblichte sich'"). Bei den wenigen Quellen, wo dieses Verb für sich steht, wie in einem Credo in den *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'*, in einem Symbolfragment in der Lehre des heiligen Grigor, an einer Stelle in Łazar P'arpec'i und in einer Homilie des Yovhannēs Mandakuni, muß davon ausgegangen werden, daß es sich entweder um eine Veränderung des ursprünglichen Wortlauts oder um einen späteren Einschub handelt. In der Lehre des heiligen Grigor § 390 heißt es: "der um unseres Lebens willen 'sich inhomisierte' (մարդացաւ / mardac'aw) ...",[52] was mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf ein մարդ եղեւ / mard eler ("er wurde Mensch") zurückgeht, das in dieser Quelle und in anderen frühen Dokumenten gut bezeugt ist. Auch das Credo des Zuit' vor seinem Martyrium in den *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* geht vermutlich auf eine Änderung der ursprünglichen Formulierung zurück. Hier finden wir folgenden Wortlaut: "und du kamst selbst, stiegst herab [und] 'inhomisiertest dich' (մարդացար / mardac'ar) ...".[53] Wahrscheinlich stand hier ursprünglich nicht մարդացար / mardac'ar, sondern մարդ եղեր / mard eler ("du wurdest Mensch"). Um einen späteren Einschub dürfte es sich in Łazar P'arpec'i handeln, wenn es in ihm heißt: "... indem unser Erlöser ... seine Ankunft und 'Inhomisierung' (մարդանալոյն / mardanaloyn) von der heiligen Jungfrau ... in vielen Gestalten und in mannigfaltigen Offenbarungen vorgezeichnet hat ...", denn das Verb մարդանալ / mardanal ('sich inhomisieren') ist sonst nirgendwo in P'arpec'i belegt. Allem Anschein nach gilt dies auch für Yovhannēs Mandakuni. Bei einer Homilie findet sich folgendes Symbolzitat: "Das Wort Gottes [ist] auf Erden gekommen, *Mensch geworden* (մարդ եղեալ / mard eleal - man achte auf das ursprüngliche Vokabular an dieser Stelle) und gestorben wie ein Mensch, jedoch [seinem] Wesen (էութեան / ēut'ean) nach wird er Gott genannt, und nicht Mensch, und der Vorsehung nach [wird er] 'inhomisierter' Gott (ա<ստուա>ծ մարդացեալ / a<stua>č mardac'eal) [genannt] ...".[54]

[52] Vgl. Agat'angelos, 195 (§ 390).
[53] Vgl. P'awstos IV,57, 181; Garsoïan, 177.
[54] Vgl. Girk' T'lt'oc', 213.

Somit kommen wir zu folgendem Ergebnis: Die ältesten armenischen Formulierungen im Zusammenhang der Inkarnation, die wir in der Lehre des heiligen Grigor, dem Credo des Grigor in Agat'angelos, in den Glaubensbekenntnissen der Märtyrer in Ełišē und Łazar P'arpec'i und mit Einschränkungen auch in den *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* antreffen, spiegeln getreulich syrische Formeln wider.

Eine zweite Gruppe von Texten, darunter zählen z.B. der Brief des Eznik (um 435) und das Credo im sogenannten Brief des Sahak (um 435/436), reflektiert die christologischen Auseinandersetzungen und das Bedürfnis, den Wortlaut des Credos bei der Menschwerdung näher an das griechische Vorbild anzugleichen. Das führt zu dem neuen Vokabular մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw ("er 'verleiblichte sich'").

Die Quellen, die zur dritten Gruppe zu rechnen sind, nämlich das Credo des Babgēn (um 505/506), das Symbolzitat in einer dem Yovhannēs Mandakuni wohl irrtümlich zugeschriebenen *Demonstratio*, aber auch das Credo des Taufordos und der Eucharistie, lassen erkennen, daß bei der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Konzil von Chalcedon die Aussagen über die Inkarnation nun zu Beginn des sechsten Jahrhunderts noch enger an den griechischen Text angeglichen wurden. Das nicänische σαρκωθέντα und ἐνανθρωπήσαντα wird nun mit մարմնացաւ / marmnac'aw und մարդացաւ / mardac'aw wiedergegeben.

Bei der Durchsicht der ältesten georgischen Troparien (*Iadgari*) für das Weihnachts- und Epiphaniefest in der Ausgabe von H. Metreveli u.a. (Tiflis 1980) entdeckte ich, daß auch im Georgischen noch die alte Terminologie, wie z.B. die Metapher vom "Anziehen eines Leibes, bzw. der Knechtsgestalt", "er wurde Mensch", "der von der Jungfrau einen Leib annahm" und verwandte Konstruktionen erhalten geblieben sind, was noch weiter untersucht werden sollte.

IV

Further Observations in Connection with the Early Form of the Epiklesis

My contribution predominantly consists of a new discussion of the various forms of invocations (in Syriac and Greek) of the Acts of Thomas adding to them the Acts of John. Thus my presentation contains the following parts:

I - THE VENI-INVOCATIONS OF THE ACTS OF THOMAS

1) at the anointing (cap. 27)

2) at the eucharist (cap. 50)

II - THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

1) the epiklesis at the eucharist (cap. 133)

2) the two invocations at the blessing of the oil (cap. 121 + 157)

a comparison of the Greek version: cap. 157 with 133

III - THE EVIDENCE OF THE ACTS OF JOHN

The epiklesis in the context of doxologies and Sanctus.

In contrast to Jungmann's reservations against the testimony of the apocryphal literature (1) we nowadays have greater awareness about the significance of the Acts of Thomas and John for our knowledge of the early shape of the Syriac liturgy. In particular the contributions of the Dutch scholars Rouwhorst and Wegman have shown that these apocryphal Acts deserve our greatest attention (2) for they provide access not only to the early form of the

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1) Cf. J.A. Jungmann, Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet (= LQF 19/20, Münster 19622), 146-151 and the additions on p. XV* (147, 151).

2) Cf. G. Rouwhorst, "Bénédiction, action de grâces, supplication. Les oraisons de la table dans le Judaïsme et les célébrations eucharistiques des Chrétiens Syriaques", Questions Liturgiques 61 (1980) 211-240; idem "La célébration de l'eucharistie selon les Actes de Thomas", in: Ch. Caspers - M. Schneider, Omnes circumstantes. Contributions Towards a History of the Role of the People in the Liturgy. Presented to Herman Wegman. (Kampen 1990), 51-77; idem, "La célébration de l'eucharistie dans l'Église primitive", Questions Liturgiques 74 (1993), 89-112; H.A.J. Wegmann, "Genealogie des Eucharistiegebetes", Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft 33 (1991), 193-216.

Syriac baptismal liturgy with the eucharistic meal (3), but they also indicate how significant once Syriac liturgical concepts were: they remained by no means restricted to Syria but inspired some of the most central parts of the liturgy of East and West. This is certainly true for

- the introduction of anointings in the context of the baptismal liturgy

- the epicletic nature of these anointings

- the introduction of an epiklesis at the celebration of the eucharistic meal

- most probably also the introduction of the Sanctus in the eucharist goes back to the creative mind of the Syrians (4).

Looking at these liturgical elements more closely one realizes that they converge in the idea of summoning down, of calling down the secrets of the divine "Name" (which gave raise to the epiklesis) and then to calling out the Holiness of what happened before their eyes (which led to the inclusion of the Sanctus; and it may very well be that the doxologies have to be considered as preliminary steps to the Sanctus).

In this contribution I want to begin with a fresh look at the epiklesis, more specific: it proved necessary to investigate once more who is addressed in the various forms of the epiklesis of the Acts of Thomas including then also the Acts of John.

In a most noteworthy article, which appeared some twenty years ago, one of the most esteemed scholars of the Christian Orient, Sebastian Brock, had already pointed out that closest attention has to be paid to the verbs, in particulary to the verb "come" in the context of the epiklesis, as he also suggested that the epiklesis in the Acts of Thomas is generally addressed to Christ (5). With regard to the addressee he is joined by German scholars like Kretschmar and Gerhards (6).

These scholars had rightly connected the Epiklesis in the Acts of Thomas with the witness of the Didache, more precisely with the quotation of the Aramaic "Maranatha" in Didache X,6.

Does this mean that the oldest shape of the epiklesis as witnessed in the Acts

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3) Cf. previous note and S. Brock, The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition (= The Syrian churches Series 9, Poona 1979), 27; idem, "The Epiklesis in the Antiochene Baptismal Ordines", in: Symposium Syriacum 1972 (= OCA 197, Rom 1974), 183-218; G. Winkler, Das armenische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jh.s (= OCA 217, Rom 1982), 135-156.

4) Cf. G. Winkler, "Nochmals zu den Anfängen der Epiklese und des Sanctus im Eucharistischen Hochgebet", Theologische Quartalschrift 174 (1994), 214-231.

5) Cf. S. Brock, "The Epiklesis", 195, 213.

6) Cf. G. Kretschmar, "Abendmahlsfeier I" in: TRE 1 (1977), 234; A. Gerhards, Die griechische Gregoriosanaphora. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des eucharistischen Hochgebets (= LQF 65, Münster 1984), 183-187; s. also K. Gamber, "Die Christus-Epiklese in der altgallischen Liturgie", Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft 9 (1966), 379-380.

of Thomas is also addressed to Christ as was generally suggested? More recently I had pointed out that some of these invocations show a peculiar oscillation between Christ theMᵉšiḥā, and the Spirit of holiness, depicted as the Mother (7). Since my attention was diverted by other issues I want to investigate once more these invocations and to whom they are addressed, distinguishing the epiklesis in the context of the baptismal anointing from the epiklesis in the eucharist.

I - The hymnic Veni-Epiklesis addressed to the Name of the Mᵉšiḥā more specific to the Mother, the Spirit, at the Anointing

Before we investigate who is invoked in this epiklesis it should be pointed out that the Syriac original was purged at two places: first, the direct invocation of the Mother was dropped in the Syriac text. It, however, survived in the Greek version; second, the original statement about the "communion of the male" was weakened by referring to the "sharer of the blessing".

syr ThA Wright I, 193; II, 166-167 (8)	greek ThA (cap. 27) Lipsius-Bonnet II/2, 142-143 (9)
Come, holy name of the Messiah;	Ελθὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα·
Come, power of grace, which art from on high;	ἐλθὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ ἡ εὐσπλαγχνία ἡ τελεία·
Come, perfect mercy;	ἐλθὲ τὸ χάρισμα τὸ ὕψιστον·
Come, exalted gift;	ἐλθὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἡ εὔσπλαγχνος·
(Greek: Come, merciful Mother!)	ἐλθὲ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἄρρενος
Come, sharer of the blessing;	ἐλθὲ ἡ τὰ μυστήρια ἀποκαλύπτουσα τὰ ἀπόκρυφα·
Come, revealer of hidden mysteries;	ἐλθὲ ἡ μήτηρ τῶν ἑπτὰ οἴκων, ἵνα ἡ ἀνάπαυσίς σου εἰς τὸν ὄγδοον οἶκον γένηται.
Come, mother of seven houses, whose rest was in the eighth house;	ἐλθὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν πέντε μελῶν, νοὸς ἐννοίας φρονήσεως ἐν– θυμήσεως λογισμοῦ,
Come, messenger of reconciliation, and communicate with the minds of these youths;	κοινώνησον μετὰ τούτον τῶν νεωτέρων·
Come, Spirit of holiness, and purify their reins and their hearts.	ἐλθὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ καθάρισον τοὺς νεφροὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν καρθίαν ...

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8) Cf. W. Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries with English Translations and Notes (London 1871).

9) R.A. Lipsius, M. Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha II/2 (photomech. reprint Darmstadt 1959).

The most intriguing point is, in my estimate, that the epiklesis for the anointing invokes first the "Name of theM^{e}šiḥā", then, however, addresses itself clearly to "merciful Mother" depicted as the "Spirit of Holiness" towards the end of the epiklesis. Thus it is tempting to assume that the invocation refers first to Christ and then to the Spirit, implying an intriguing oscillation between the Messias and the Spirit. This assumption, however, overlooks the fact that the epiclesis is directed to the "Name", more precisely to the "Name of the M^{e}šiḥā", that is to say, to the Name of the Anointed, in whom resides the "hidden power" as is specified in a doxology at another report about a prebaptismal anointing:

syr ThA
Wright I, 301; II, 267

Glory (ܫܘܒܚܐ) to thee, (thou) beloved Fruit!

Glory to thee, (thou) name of the Messiah (ܡܫܝܚܐ)!

Glory to thee, (thou) hidden power that dwellest in the Messiah!

Thus we observe that initially mentioning is made of the "Name" of the Messiah, yet this serves only as an introduction to the "hidden power" behind this "Name", a clear insinuation to the Spirit who is the real addressee hidden in the "Name" of the M^{e}šiḥā. The "Name" of the Anointed serves as a vehicle to depict the action of the Spirit who is invoked by summoning down the "Name" of the Anointed.

It is no surprise to find this subtle feature exclusively in the context of the anointing as it is equally clear why this allusion to the Anointed, theM^{e}šiḥā, is missing in the epiklesis of the eucharist, our next text to await further scrutiny.

II -The hymnic Veni-Epiklesis addressed to the Mother, the Spirit, at the Eucharist

This hymnic epiklesis pronounced during the celebration of the eucharistic meal shows close affinity with the previous invocation at the anointing with one exception: the M^{e}šiḥā is not mentioned. The epiklesis is directed unequivocally to the Mother, the Spirit of holiness.

Before quoting the text it should be pointed out that once more the Syriac original was stripped of its clear reference to the Mother, still present in the Greek text. Also the Latin version, preserved in an Irish Palimpsest-Sacramentary of the middle of the seventh century, dropped the invocation to the Mother while maintaining, however, the reference to the "communion with the male" still found in the Greek version but purged from the Syriac text.

syr ThA Eucharistic Meal Wright I, 218-219; II, 189-190	Irish Palimpsest-Sacramentary (70 650) Ordo Missae Circumcisionis Dold-Eizenhöfer, 44.47 (11)
Come, gift of the Exalted;	Ueni ergo cummunica nobiscum
Come, perfect mercy;	
[Greek: Come, communion with the male]	ueni uiscera perfacta
Come, holy Spirit;	ueni communio ueri
Come, revealer of the mysteries of the chosen among the Prophets;	ueni qui nos ti sacramenta electa
Come, proclaimer by His Apostles of the combats of our victorious Athlete;	ueni qui socius fuisti in omnibus certaminib. forti similis propugnatoris
Come, treasure of majesty;	
Come, beloved of the mercy of the Most High;	ueni amabilis caritas electi
Come, (thou) silent (one), revealer of the mysteries of the Exalted;	ueni taciturnitas qui reuelas totius magnitudinis misteria adque magnalia
Come, utterer of hidden things, and shewer of the works of our God;	ueni qui secreta reuelas et palam facis quae sunt occulta
	columba qui gemnos pullo genuisti
Come, giver of life in secret, and manifest in thy deeds (10).	ueni qui occultus quidem ......(12) nifestus uero in suis operibus
[Greek: Come, hidden mother]	
Come, giver of joy and rest to all who cleave onto thee;	qui praestas laetitiam et panem omnibus tibi conherentibus
Come, power of the Father and wisdom of the Son, for Ye are one in all;	ueni cummunica nobiscum in tua eucharitia ...!
Come and communicate with us in this Eucharist ...	

greek ThA (cap. 50)

Lipsius-Bonnet II/2, 166

Ἔλθὲ τὰ σπλάγχα τὰ τέλεια,
ἐλθὲ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἄρρενος,
ἐλθὲ ἡ ἐπισταμένη τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ ἐπιλέκτου,
ἐλθὲ ἡ κοινωνοῦσα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄθλοις τοῦ γενναίου ἀθλητοῦ,
ἐλθὲ ἡ ἡσυχία ἡ ἀποκαλύπτουσα τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ παντὸς μεγέθους,
ἐλθὲ ἡ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐκφαίνουσα καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα φανερὰ καθιστῶσα,
    ἡ ἱερὰ περιστερὰ ἡ τοὺς διδύμους νεοσσοὺς γεννῶσα,
ἐλθὲ ἡ ἀπόκρυφος μήτηρ,
ἐλθὲ ἡ φανερὰ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῆς
    καὶ παρέχουσα χαρὰν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν τοῖς συνημμένοις αὐτῇ·
ἐλθὲ καὶ κοινώνησον ἡμῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ ...

10) Cf. Wright I, 219 (= syr. Pag.) and II, 189 note a. S. also Greek version of Lipsius-Bonnet II/2, 166 (Textus: cf. infra).

11) Cf. A. Dold, L. Eizenhöfer, Das irische Palimpsestsakramentar im CLM 14429 der Staatsbibliothek München (= Texte und Arbeiten 53-54, Beuron 1964), 44, 47.

12) Cf. Dold-Eizenhöfer, 44-45 (16).

Considering the Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin texts which have come down to us, we can conclude:

- that the epiklesis was addressed to the Spirit (so in the Syriac text, line 3: here in the form of "Come, holy Spirit", usually "Spirit of holiness"), not present, however, in the Greek and Latin version;

- and that the Spirit is depicted as Mother (still preserved in the Greek version towards the end, but dropped in the Syriac and Latin text).

III. The further development

This heading warrants an explanation because it implicitly insinuates that the Acts of Thomas, as they have come down to us, are not a homogenious text but that later layers are juxtaposed on the older stratum.

Already Vööbus had referred to various layers in these apocryphal Acts while investigating the early forms of asceticism (13), and I came to similar conclusions studying the historical development of the Syrian prebaptismal anointings in the Acts of Thomas:(14) the earliest form of the anointing consisted of the pouring of oil over the head (s. cap. 26-27 and 131-133 according to the chapters of the Greek version); the double anointing of head and body was thus initially still unknown, but once the anointing of the body became added to that of the head we also witness a consecration of the oil for the first time (s. cap. 120-121 and 157)(15).

That means that those passages in the Acts of Thomas which report a double anointing while also referring to the consecration of the oil (which is absent in the other two narrations about the anointing of the head) apparently belong to a later development. Now interestingly enough also the two invocations in the context of the blessing of the oil, which we presently will investigate, differ from the previously quoted texts: they differ not only with regard to the verbs used in this context, but they also show a significant deviation in who is addressed in the epiklesis. This is also true for the invocation at the celebration of the eucharistic meal in cap. 133 with which I want to begin for this passage still contains the invocation of the Mother, although only in the Greek version, which has preserved at this place the original layer over againts the Syriac text as can readily be seen by a comparison of the texts.

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13) Cf. A. Vööbus, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East, I: The Origin of Asceticism. Early Monasticism in Persia (= CSCO 184/14, Löwen 1958), 67.

14) Cf. Winkler, Das armenische Initiationsrituale, 136-146; eadem, "The Original Meaning and Implications of the Prebaptismal Anointing", Worship 52 (1978), 24-45.

15) Cf. Winkler, "Prebaptismal Anointing", 30-31; eadem, Das armenische Initiationsrituale, 142.

1. The invocation of the Mother at the Eucharist

syr ThA Wright I, 302; II, 268	greek ThA (cap. 133) Lipsius-Bonnet II/2, 240
I ...	...
1 We name the name of the Father over thee;	ἐπιφημίζομέν σε τὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνομα, ἀπορρήτου μυστηρίου ἀρχῶν τε
2 We name the name of the Son over thee;	καὶ ἐξουσιῶν κεκρυμμένων·
3 We name the name of the Spirit over thee ...	ἐπιφημίζομέν σου ὀνόματί σου Ἰησοῦ·
II And he said:	
1 In Thy name, Jesus,	Καὶ εἶπεν·
2 may the power of the blessing and thanksgiving come and abide (ܬܫܪܐ) upon this bread,	Ἐλθάτω δύναμις εὐλογίας καὶ ἐνιδρύσθω ὁ ἄρτος, ἵνα πᾶσαι αἱ μεταλαμβάνουσαι ψυχαὶ
3 that all souls, which take of it, may be renewed and their sins may be forgiven them.	ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπολούσονται.

The Syriac text shows in the first part all the signs of a later reworking: although it has preserved the invocation of the Name, the passage in question (I, 1-3) became transformed into an invocation of the Trinity whereas the Greek version still has maintained the original addressee, the invocation of the Mother.

But what about the reference to Jesus which we find in both versions, the Syriac and the Greek text? In this context it has to be pointed out right away that there is one noteworthy difference between the Syriac and Greek version: the mentioning of the "name of Jesus" happens in syrThA in II, 1 in greekThA in I, 2, that is to say at two different points of the text which may indicate a later interpolation according to the rules of liturgical scholarship. This assumption is further strengthened by a comparison with the previous eucharistic epiklesis which also contains no reference to "Jesus".

We can safely assume that the first part of the epiklesis had no trinitarian shape as suggested by the present Syriac text: the original invocation was addressed to the Mother. It may be that only the Mother, the Spirit, was invoked and that possibly the name of "Jesus" was not mentioned. Furthermore, serious doubts about the content of cap. 133 have to be raised by the fact that the present Greek text betrays considerable verbal congruency between the second part of cap. 133 (= the invocation at the eucharistic meal) and cap. 157 (= the epiklesis at the blessing of the oil) which we have to discuss in the context of our analysis of cap. 157 (cf. infra).

But another feature in the pattern clamours for our attention: the verbs used and in what form they appear. The original imperative "come!" of the previous invocations became weakened to "may the power ... come" to which was added for the first time another verb: "and abide". This tendency to add another verb still absent in our previously investigated two veni-invocations we find also in those texts which refer for the first time to blessing of the oil.

2. The two invocations at the Blessing of the Oil

Once more we have to present both texts, the Syriac and the Greek version, for they differ at two crucial points:

(1) the Greek text does not refer to "Jesus",

(2) and the Greek version contains not a blessing of the oil, but an invocation over the baptismal candidate, instead.

syr ThA Wright I, 291; II, 258	greek ThA (cap. 121) Lipsius-Bonnet II/2, 230-231
Holy oil (ܡܫܚܐ), which wast given to us for unction (ܕܠܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ) ...	Ἔλαιον ἅγιον εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ἡμῖν δοθέν ...
Thou, our Lord Jesus, life and health and remission of sins may Thy power come and abide (ܫܪܐ) upon this oil (ܡܫܚܐ), and let Thy holiness dwell in it.	ἐλθέτω ἡ δύναμίς σου· ἱδρυνθήτω ἐπὶ τὴν δούλην σου Μυγδονίαν· καὶ ἴασαι αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ταύτης.

As we said already the Greek version is of greatest interest for it refers not to Jesus but only to the "holy oil" whose "power may come over your servant Mygdonia", not "over the oil" as stated in the Syriac text. Thus the Greek version has no blessing of the oil at all but contains an invocation over the baptismal candidate which may very well reflect the older layer of the text.

However, the next passage of the Acts of Thomas which we want to present does indeed mention a consecration of the oil.

syr ThA	greek ThA (cap. 157)
Wright I, 323; II, 289	Lipsius-Bonnet II, 267
...	...
1 Yea, Lord,	Ἰησοῦ
2 come,	ἐλθέτω ἡ νικητικὴ αὐτοῦ σιχ δύναμις,
3 abide upon this oil ...	καὶ ἐνιδρύσθω τῷ ἐλαίῳ τούτῳ ...
4 May Thy gift come ...	ἐλθέτω δὴ καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ...
5 and may it abide upon this oil,	καὶ ἐπιδημῆσαι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τούτῳ
6 over which we name Thy name.	ᾧ ἐπιφημίζομεν τὸ σὸν ἅγιον ὄνομα.

In the Syriac version the addressee is clearly the "Lord" whereas the reading of the Greek text is corrupt: Jesus, may his victorious power come ...". Either the word "Jesus" was originally missing or the pronoun has to be altered into: "Jesus, may your victorious power come ...".

Yet another issue deserves our attention: the present Greek text (cap. 157) shows considerable verbal congruency with the second part of the epiklesis at the eucharistic meal (cap. 133):

greek ThA Blessing of the oil (cap. 157) Lipsius-Bonnet II/2, 267	Eucharistic Meal (cap. 133) Lipsius-Bonnet II/2, 240
	... ἐπιφημίζομέν σου ὀνόματί σου Ἰησοῦ. Καὶ εἶπεν·
1 Ἰησοῦ	
2 ἐλθέτω ἡ ... δύναμις	Ἐλθάτω δύναμις εὐλογίας
3 καὶ ἐνιδρύσθω τῷ ἐλαίῳ τούτῳ ...	καὶ ἐνιδρύσθω ὁ ἄρτος ...
4 ἐλθέτω δὴ καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ...	
5 καὶ ἐπιδημῆσαι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τούτῳ	
6 ᾧ ἐπιφημίζομεν τὸ σὸν ἅγιον ὄνομα.	

The marked congruency between both texts of the Greek version raises the question whether the epiklesis in cap. 133 (= eucharistic meal) has not taken

over parts of the invocation in cap. 157 (= blessing of the oil).

Yet not only the Greek redaction confronts us with major difficulties, also the Syriac text of the consecration of the oil raises serious doubts about the authenticity of the text. This is certainly true for line 2-3:

syr ThA (corresponds with Greek: cap. 157)

Wright I, 323; II, 289

...

1 Yea, Lord,

2 come,

3 abide (ܫܪܝ) upon this oil ...

4 May Thy gift come ...

5 and may it abide (ܬܫܪܐ) upon this oil,

6 over which we name Thy name.

The imperatives in line 2-3 are rather peculiar: line 2 presents with "come" the earliest form of the verb but adds to it the later attested "abide" in line 3. Yet the latter verb is nowhere else to be found in the imperative, only in the form of "may abide".

The two imperatives in the Syriac text have to be compared with the ejl-qevtw and ejnidruvsqw of the Greek version which represent the later grammatical shape of these verbs.

Thus we have to tentatively conclude that the transmission of these three texts which were presented and discussed in this chapter is rather doubtful: questions arose with regard who is addressed, whether the text implied a blessing of the oil or whether it rather mirrored an invocation over the baptismal candidate and what shape these invocations had.

IV. The evidence in the apocryphal Acts of John

In the previously discussed third century Acts of Thomas the addressee in the epiklesis was predominantly the Mother, the Spirit of Holiness, no epiklesis invoked the Father. Our first witness for this novelty is the Syriac version of the Acts of John, which stem from the mid-forth century. In this document the epiklesis is directed for the first time at the Father as we also see the blessing of the oil extended to that of the water:

Wright I, 58; II, 53:
Lord God Almighty,
may Thy Spirit of holiness come,
and rest (ܬܬܢܝܚ) and abide (ܬܫܪܐ)
upon the oil and upon the water ...

Besides the fact that now the Father is invoked, special attention should be given to the extension of the verbs: in the earliest shape of the epiklesis only the verb "come!" was used (in the imperative), then the imperative became changed into "may Thy power come" to which a new verb was added: "may Thy gift come and abide". In the Acts of John a third verb is inserted: "may Thy Spirit of holiness come, and rest and abide".

But another issue demands our consideration: the new form of the invocation, now addressed to the Father, is embedded in trinitarian doxologies and in the Sanctus, the latter also attested for the first time, so it seems. The Sanctus apparently was initially directed to the Father, but then obtained a trinitarian shape as I tried to demonstrate in a recent article. (16) In this context I only want to point out the most important results concerning the presence of the Sanctus in the Acts of John. The Sanctus is mentioned in four closely interrelated passages:

1. in the baptismal assignment inspired by Is 6 (Wright I, 26-27; II, 23-24),
2. in connection with the appearance of fire over the oil (Wright I, 42-43; II, 38-39),
3. at the blessing of the water (Wright I, 42-43; II, 39),
4. at another report about the appearance of fire over the oil (Wright I, 58-59; II, 53-54).

The addressee of the Sanctus is the Father in three passages (1, 2, 4) all of which stand in direct or indirect connection with the oil.(17) Only at one place, namely at the blessing of the water, which in Syria was introduced later than the blessing of the oil, does the Sanctus appear in a trinitarian interpretation. As interesting as this finding may be, we are presently more interested in the overall picture of the development of the epiklesis and its context.

Looking at the entire evidence of the shape and context of the invocations in the Acts of Thomas and John we cannot fail to observe the tendency of how the Syriac epiklesis became extended from calling down the divine presence to increasingly include also doxologies for the divine manifestations, finally ending up in calling out "holy!" because of what is happening before their eyes.

16) Cf. Winkler, "Nochmals zu den Anfängen der Epiklese und des Sanctus", 220-231.
17) Ibid., 223.

The initially extremely extended epiklesis first becomes shortened and makes room for the inclusion of doxologies, eventually we observe an extension of the doxological elements while including also the Sanctus. This latter process in the evolution is particularly evident in the Acts of John: In the first report the epiklesis is even replaced by repeated quotations of the Sanctus to which is added a doxology; in the second narration pertinent to our investigation the epiklesis is imbedded in a doxology and the Sanctus.

syr JohA

1. Report

Wright I, 42-43; II, 38-39

(John commanded fine scented oil. Then he kneeled down and cried:)

Holy is the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness for ever, Amen ...

Glory (ܫܘܒܚܐ) be to the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness for ever, Amen ...

Holy is the Father and the Son and the Spirit of holiness, Amen.

(Appearance of fire; two angels spread their wings over the oil and cried:)

Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty.

(When the oil was consecrated, John also consecrated the water, saying:)

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit of Holiness, for ever, Amen ...

(Two angels came and hovered over the water crying:)

Holy, holy, holy,

Father and Son and Spirit of holiness.(18)

2. Report

Wright I, 58-59; II, 53-54

(John cried:)

Glory to Thee, Father and Son and Spririt of Holiness, for ever, Amen...

Lord God Almighty,

may Thy Spirit of holiness come,

and rest (ܬܬܢܝܚ) and abide (ܬܫܪܐ) upon the oil and upon the water ...

And in that hour fire blazed forth over the oil;

and the whole assemblage was crying out ...

Holy, holy, holy, Lord Almighty

of whose praises Heaven and earth are full.

---

18) No reference is made to the eucharist.

At the end of the narration about baptism we find only a short allusion to the eucharist. Hence no details can be gleaned from it which form the epiklesis had and whether the Sanctus was already included in the eucharist and what shape it had. But it may be legitimate to conclude that the Sanctus was probably already part of the celebration of the eucharist.

Conclusion:

In order to follow the earliest development of the epiklesis closest attention should be paid to:

(1) the verb (in these Syriac texts consistently the verb "come"), in addition in which grammatical form the verb appears and

(2) who is addressed with this verb.

(I) The Verb:

1. The roots of the epiklesis as it appears for the first time in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas around 200 are to be traced back to the Didache which also stems from Syria around 100, and according to Sebastian Brock even "to the New Testament itself, and the liturgical phrase Maranatha quoted by Paul" [1 Cor 16, 22].(19)

2. As Sebastian Brock had pointed out already some twenty years ago the verb "come" in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas belongs to the oldest shape of the epiklesis. According to my estimate the two hymnic invocations with the imperative veni! in connection with the baptismal anointing and the eucharistic meal reflect an earlier stratum than those invocations in which the verb has been weakened to "may Thy power / gift come".

3. The new grammatical form of the verb: "may ... come", inaugurates, so it seems, the further development of the epiklesis which goes hand in hand with the introduction of an additional verb: "may come and abide". This new shape of the epiklesis we also find in connection with the anointing and the celebration of the eucharistic meal in the Acts of Thomas as was the case with the previous veni-invocations.

4. In the Acts of John there are then no longer two verbs but three: "may come and rest and abide".

II. The Addressee:

1. In connection with the hymnic veni-epiklesis, the oldest shape of the invocation:

19) Cf. Brock, "Epiklesis", 213.

For quite some time it was assumed that the invocations in the Acts of Thomas are in general addressed to Christ. Recently I had pointed out that there apparently existed an intriguing oscillation between the Messiah and the Spirit. Looking, however, more closely at the evidence we noticed a subtle difference between the epiklesis at the anointing and that of the eucharist: Exclusively the invocation at the anointing is addressed only at the beginning to the "Name" of the Anointed", the Mᵉšīḥā, yet behind the "Name" no one else is hidden than the Spirit who is the true addressee of the entire epiklesis. Since the anointing lends itself to refer to the Anointed par excellence and since behind the Name of the Mᵉšīḥā lies but the activity of the Spirit, it is not surprising that the threshold to this epiklesis consists of the "Name of theMᵉšīḥā" and that the epiklesis as such is addressed to the Spirit, the Mother, who reveals herself and is made present by calling down the Name of the "Anointed".

Thus it equally comes as no surprise when the epiklesis at the eucharistic meal does not refer to the Mᵉšīḥā, the Anointed, at all but addresses itself directly and exclusively to the Mother, the Spirit.

There can be no doubt in my mind that the primary place of the presence of a fully fledged epiklesis is the anointing and that the inclusion of a true epiklesis at the eucharist reflects a secondary development. (I am not talking about the short and eschatological call of the Maranatha which is attested already at the inception of Christianity and probably belonged to the eucharistic meal but to a true and verbal invocation, the summoning down of the Spirit (of Christ) at the anointing which is probably older than its earliest witness in the Acts of Thomas around 200.)

2. The further development is characterized by considerable uncertainty who should be addressed with the invocation: The epiklesis at the eucharist refers above all to the Mother, the Spirit, so in greekThA (cap. 133), in syrThA transformed into a trinitarian invocation which, however, came about through obvious later manipulation of the text. Besides the Mother as the foremost addressee, also Jesus is invoked, so in syrThA and greekThA, cap. 133. Yet some serious doubts arise about the exact transmission of the text.

In connection with the blessing of the oil the epiklesis is addressed to the "Lord" (so syrThA) respectively to "Jesus" (so greekThA, cap. 157).

Both invocations addressed to "Jesus" or the "Lord", be it at the eucharist be it in connection with the anointing, seem also to go back to a later reworking of the text as we have seen.

3. In the apocryphal Syriac Acts of John from the midforth century the new addressee is now the Father hitherto unknown in the early invocations. At the same time we noticed that the epiklesis became imbedded in repeated trinitarian doxologies and the Sanctus, the latter initially addressed to the Father, then also trinitarian in orientation probably because of the doxologies.

Thus attention has to be drawn to the fact that the initial epiklesis is steadily making room for doxologies, eventually including the Sanctus as well. At

the beginning the two oldest invocations had the shape of a hymnic veni-epiklesis. Then doxological elements were added at the expense of the previous extended form of the epiklesis and finally even the Sanctus became included.

In my oponion there is little doubt that the inclusion of the Sanctus into the rites of initiation (which conclude with the celebration of the eucharist!) have to be traced back, like the epiklesis, to the genius of the Syrians: calling down the divine presence, praising God in the doxologies and calling out "holy"! are nothing else but the two sides of one coin.

V

THE ARMENIAN NIGHT OFFICE I: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INTRODUCTORY PART OF ԳԻՇԵՐԱՅԻՆ ԺԱՄ

The night office (*գիշերային*)[1] in the present Armenian Horologion (*Ժամագիրք*)[2] consists of several archaic elements which deserve closer investigation. The only studies I am aware of which deal with *գիշերային* are Conybeare's well-known reference to the Armenian Daily Offices in his *Rituale Armenorum,*[3] Hats'uni's more extensive, yet not very reliable *History of the Armenian Prayerbook,*[4] and Ōrmanian's valuable *Liturgical Dictionary*[5] which gives some interesting details about the various parts of the night office from a practical (but not historical) point of view.

In this essay I discuss briefly the structure of *գիշերային* and then comment on the historical development of the introductory part, leaving aside the history of the recitation of the psalms and canticles since I have dealt with the rather complicated evolution of that part of the office elsewhere.[6]

I

The present Armenian night office has the following structure: *(a)* introductory part,[7] *(b)* recitation of the psalms in numerical order,[8] *(c)* two different groups of Gospel readings, each connected with several psalms,[9] *(d)* the concluding part which consists of the Lord's Prayer, supplication (*մաղթանք*), intercessions (*քարոզ*), and some additional chants.[10]

Formerly the basic structure of *գիշերային* consisted of an invitatory followed by the recitation of a group of variable psalms in numerical order. It is well known that this *psalmodia currens* is characteristic of the monastic type of office in contrast with the use of select psalms common to the secular churches.[11] The monastic office assumed a predominantly meditative character, whereas the so-called cathedral office particularly emphasized ceremonial aspects of the

synaxis. I pointed out elsewhere that the Armenians restricted the meditative recitation of the psalms to the night office, thus keeping the original features of the cathedral offices of *առաւօտեան* (morning) and *երեկոյեան ժամ* (evening) intact.[12] The psalmody in numerical order of *գիշերային*, which was once the very center of the night office, is now reduced to the so-called *կանոնագլուխք (kanonaglukhk')*, that is, the final psalm verses that formed the end of the individual *կանոնք* (canons) of psalms.[13]

In the time of Catholicos Hovhan(nēs) Ōdznets'i (650?-728) and his contemporary Step'an(n)os Siwnets'i (680?-ca. 735)[14] the night office was still characterized by structural transparency and simplicity: the nocturnal synaxis began with the invitatory followed by seven subsections (*գորաղայք*)[15] of psalms, that is, the monastic recitation of the psalter.[16] The tenth-century *Commentary on the Office* by Khosrov Andzewats'i and later documents show that the *psalmodia currens* formed an essential part of the night office.[17]

II

The introductory part of the night office in the present Horologion consists of:

Doxology	*Օրհնեալ տէր մեր Յիսուս Քրիստոս. ամէն* (Blessed [is] our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen)
Lord's Prayer	
Fixed psalmody	Ps. 50:17 *(bis)* + trinitarian doxology Pss. 3, 87, 102, 142 + little doxology.[18]

This is followed by a *երգ* (chant) which is attributed to Nersēs Shnorhali (1102-1173),[19] *քարոզ* (intercessions), *ողբերգութիւն* (lamentation) also attributed to Nersēs, *աղօթք* (prayer), and the repetition of the initial doxology (*Օրհնեալ տէր մեր...*).[20] Then begins the *կանոն սաղմոսաց* (canon of psalms) in its present reduced form.[21] The various chants, which are indicated above, were introduced in the office by the twelfth century through Nersēs Shnorhali; whereas the intercessions with their concluding prayer were already present at the time of Ōdznets'i and Siwnets'i.[22]

Whether the unity of *քարոզ* and *աղօթք* (intercessions and collect) actually goes back to Hovhan Mandakuni (420?-490)[23] as Ōrmanian suggests in his *Liturgical Dictionary*[24] remains an open question despite the consensus in the Armenian tradition about Mandakuni's authorship.[25] For it is well known that the intercessory prayer with its

collect did not originally begin the office but concluded it, and that this type of prayer only later also became attached to the beginning of the synaxis. Hence, I do not believe that at the time of Mandakuni, that is, in the fifth century, the intercessions were already placed in the introductory part of the office. Yet, there is another possible interpretation of the evidence which is quite plausible: (1) Some intercessions may indeed stem from Mandakuni; at this time, however, the litany still concluded the office. (2) In the seventh century (I do not believe that it could be much earlier) an Armenian ecclesiastical authority may have moved the litany to the introductory part of the office. This hypothesis is perhaps the most satisfactory solution to the problem of the location of the intercession in the night office.

There is a likely probability that a few other elements listed above have great antiquity and reflect the most ancient stratum of the introduction to the night office to have come down to us. This will become quite obvious if we compare the introductory part of the Armenian night office with other introductory parts of the Byzantine and various Syrian night offices. Since the initial fixed prayers of the Syrian and Byzantine rites are rather expanded in contrast with the Armenian evidence, I divide the introduction to the night office into two parts: *(a)* the initial prayers, *(b)* the fixed psalms of the invitatory.

THE INITIAL PRAYERS

The initial prayers of the Armenian, East-Syrian, and Byzantine night offices are outlined in chart 1. The Armenians obviously have preserved the oldest structure of this part: it consists only of the doxology in its peculiar christological shape, followed by the Lord's Prayer which in the East-Syrian tradition is interrupted by responsories inspired by Is. 6.[26] Mateos had investigated the initial fixed prayers of the Syro-Palestinian office by comparing the Syrian, Maronite, and Byzantine synaxis.[27] I suggest some modifications of his conclusions in consideration of the Armenian evidence. Mateos arrived at the following conclusions:[28]

1. The oldest, fixed, initial prayers of the ancient Syro-Palestinian tradition were the *Trisagion*, the triple *Lord have mercy*, and the *Lord's Prayer.*[29]

2. These elements were not originally introductory but final prayers, that is, they concluded the office.[30]

3. The Trisagion is the oldest *final* prayer in the East-Syrian tradition. It was only later that the Pater noster was added,[31] in contrast to

CHART 1

The Initial Prayers of the Armenian, East-Syrian, and Byzantine Night Offices

Armenian Գիշերային[a]	East-Syrian Lelya[b]	Byzantine Orthros[c]
—	—	Praised [is] our God at all times now and always . . . Amen.
—	—	Glory to you, our God, Glory to you.
—	—	*Short prayer* Heavenly king . . .
—	—	Trisagion *(ter)*
—	—	Lord have mercy *(ter)*
Doxology	*Doxology*	*Little Doxology*
Blessed [is] our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen	Gloria in excelsis (Luke 2:14) kiss of peace[d]	Glory to the Father . . . (in expanded form)
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer (expanded with verses)	Lord's Prayer (and doxology)
—	*Little doxology* Glory to the Father . . .[e]	*Trinitarian doxology* Glory to . . . the Trinity . . . Gloria in excelsis (Luke 2:14)
—	Three prayers[f]	—
Invitatory	*Invitatory*	*Invitatory*
Several psalms	Several psalms	Several psalms

[a] See *Horologion*, p. 15. For the locally restricted expansions of this part of the office between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries see Hats'uni, pp. 230 ff., 315 ff. Since Hats'uni restricts himself to an investigation of exclusively Armenian sources, he is not very helpful for the reconstruction of the earliest shape and evolution of the night office. The problems involved can only be solved by a comparative study of the night offices in the various rites.

[b] See J. Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra. Les offices chaldéens de la nuit et du matin*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 192 (Rome, 1972²), pp. 43-44; A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices Translated from the Syriac with Introduction, Notes, and Indices and an Appendix Containing the Lectionary and Glossary* (London, 1894), pp. 85-86, 151.

[c] The so-called *orthros* consists of the old *mesonyktikon* and *orthros* proper; see J. Mateos, "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 11 (1961), p. 22 f. The structural outline in J. Mateos, "Prière initiales fixes des offices syrien, maronite et byzantin," *L'Orient Syrien*, 11 (1966), p. 490, is slightly simplified.

[d] Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, pp. 85, 151.

[e] Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 43.

[f] Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, pp. 85-86, 151.

West-Syria where both the Trisagion and the Lord's Prayer initially concluded the office and also later began it.[32]

4. The East-Syrians did not integrate the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of the synaxis before the eighth or ninth century.[33]

5. The little doxology (= Gloria Patri), which in the East-Syrian *lelya* follows the Pater Noster,[34] is actually the ancient beginning of the office.[35]

6. The address to God, which now forms the very entry to the Byzantine office, is "un nouveau début solennel."[36]

I question whether Mateos is correct in his suggestions about the general use of the Trisagion and the Lord's Prayer (item 1). He may indeed be right in regard to the little doxology (item 5): it seems that the Gloria Patri is actually the most ancient beginning of the Byzantine office. Yet I do not believe that it is possible to determine the doxology *following* the Pater noster as the ancient beginning, but rather it could be the doxology that precedes the dominical prayer (see chart). At least the Armenian evidence would suggest this possibility. We should not forget, however, that the Lord's Prayer is a later addition; and therefore only the doxology remains in its peculiar Armenian, Syriac, and Greek shape which subsequently became enriched with additional doxologies (see particularly the Byzantine beginning of the synaxis).

The Armenian witness seems to shed new light on the introductory part of the night office as I shall attempt to demonstrate.

The Presence of the Trisagion and the Lord's Prayer in the Office

In order to obtain a clearer picture concerning the presence or absence of the Trisagion and the Pater noster at the beginning and end of the offices, I present a chart of their use in the Armenian, East-Syrian, Byzantine evening, night, and morning services (chart 2).

From the chart we can make the following deductions:

1. The Trisagion and the dominical prayer conclude the cathedral morning and evening offices in all three rites.

2. The Armenians share with the East-Syrian rite: *(a)* the general exclusion of the Trisagion from the beginning of all their offices; *(b)* the Pater noster is the only introductory prayer; *(c)* the Trisagion is used exclusively at the conclusion of the offices. Therefore, we cannot agree with Mateos that both the Pater noster *and the Trisagion* form the oldest fixed prayers of the ancient Syro-Palestinian tradition (item 1) unless we exclude the Armenians from any association with the Syro-Palestinian tradition.

3. Only the Byzantines use consistently the Trisagion and the

CHART 2

The Trisagion and Lord's Prayer at the Beginning and End of the Offices of Vespers, the Night, and the Morning

Armenian[a]		East-Syrian[b]	Byzantine[c]
երեկոյեան ժամ (evening office)		*Ramša* (evening office)	*Vespers*
Beginning:	—	—	Trisagion
	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
end:	Trisagion	Trisagion	Trisagion
	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer[d]
գիշերային ժամ (night office)		*Lelya* (night office)	*Orthros* (the first part is actually the old *mesonyktikon*)
Beginning:	—	—	Trisagion
	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
end:	—	—	—
	Lord's Prayer	—	—
առաւօտեան ժամ (morning office)		*Ṣapra* (morning office)	*Orthros* proper
Beginning:	—	—	—
	Lord's Prayer	—	—
end:	Trisagion	Trisagion	Trisagion
	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer[e]	Lord's Prayer[f]

[a] See *Horologion*, pp. 533 ff., 15 ff., 217 ff.

[b] I consulted Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, pp. 390-393 (also pp. 43, 78), and J. Molitor, *Chaldaisches Brevier. Ordinarium des ostsyrischen Stundengebets* (Dusseldorf, 1961), pp. 49, 86, 110.

[c] See *La prière des Églises de rite byzantin*, vol. 1, *La prière des heures* (Chevetogne, 1975), pp. 375, 141.

[d] Ibid., p. 375 (slightly different pattern during Lent).

[e] The dominical prayer is absent during Lent; see Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 393. (The absence of the Trisagion and Pater noster at the end of *lelya* and beginning of *ṣapra* is best explained by the fact that *lelya* and *ṣapra* were united.)

[f] See *La prière*, p. 141 (slightly different on Sundays and feasts). The absence of the Trisagion and Pater noster at the end of the (old) *mesonyktikon* and the beginning of *orthros* proper results from the fusion of the night and morning offices.

Pater noster together at the beginning and at the end of their offices. (The absence of the Trisagion and Pater noster at the end of the old mesonyktikon and at the beginning of orthros proper resulted from the unification of the night and morning offices in the so-called *orthros.*)

The oldest use of the Trisagion in the Armenian office. — Our earliest witness of the inclusion of the Trisagion as the final prayer of *առաւօտեան* (morning office) is a certain Movsēs, probably Movsēs Siwnets'i[37] (670?-731), the teacher of Step'annos Siwnets'i.[38] Movsēs wrote a *Մեկնութիւն ժամակարգութեան* (Commentary on the Office)[39] and apparently also refers to the Trisagion.[40] Movsēs is not the only seventh-eighth century witness for the Trisagion; all writers of this period agree in their evidence: The Trisagion is exclusively attached to the *end* of the offices of *առաւօտեան/երեկոյեան ժամ* (morning and evening). The thirteenth chapter of Ōdznets'i's *Ցանկ գրոցս* (Survey of [his] Writings) reads as follows: " . . . likewise why they employ the 'Holy God' [= Trisagion] at the end of the morning and evening service."[41] Ōdznets'i and Siwnets'i make repeated references in their writings to the Trisagion which forms the conclusion of the morning synaxis.[42] This practice has remained to the present day: The Trisagion serves exclusively as the final part of the morning and evening service.[43]

Hence, we can say that, in comparison with the Syro-Palestinian and Byzantine tradition, the Armenians and East-Syrians have preserved the oldest stratum with regard to the use of the Trisagion. It only forms a part of the *final* prayers, more precisely: the Trisagion concludes only the cathedral offices of the morning and evening, but it was never used as either the final or initial prayer of the Armenian and East-Syrian *night* office.

The Lord's Prayer and its late inclusion in the office. — Through Mateos's investigation we know that the Trisagion is the oldest *final* prayer in the East-Syrian tradition, and that before the eighth or ninth century the Pater noster was not recited at the beginning (or end) of the offices; only the Trisagion closed the synaxis. It was in the eighth/ninth century that the Lord's Prayer was inserted for the first time at the beginning and at the end of the office.[44] Hence, it is obvious that in the East-Syrian tradition the Lord's Prayer became part of the beginning of the office at a rather late date. Perhaps, this would compare with the inclusion of the Pater noster in the Armenian offices.

At the time of Ōdznets'i and Siwnets'i, that is by the eighth century, we find that the final part consists only of the Trisagion: it closes the cathedral synaxis of morning and evening (hence, it is absent from

the night office as we have already seen). Nothing is said by these writers about the Lord's Prayer. Therefore, we can assume that the dominical prayer was still absent from the beginning and end of the offices in the eighth century as in the East-Syrian tradition. This shows that the Lord's Prayer has to be excluded as an early part of the introductory prayer of *գիշերային* (night office). When it eventually became part of the beginning (or end) of the offices is difficult to assess since the tenth-century commentary on the office by Khosrov Andzewats'i does not include the beginning of the night office in his explanations. It could be that, at that time, the Lord's Prayer was already present in the nocturnal gathering since we know that it existed in East-Syria by the ninth century, and it was also recited in the Greek (sabaitic) Horologion of the ninth century as an entry (and concluding) prayer of the synaxis.[45] Hence it could be that the dominical prayer also formed part of the beginning (and end) of the Armenian office by the tenth century although we are not able to prove that. By the thirteenth century it was perhaps present in the various offices as the testimony of Hovhannēs Erznkats'i[46] indicates: *յամենայն աւուր եօթն անգամ ասեմք Հայր մեր որ յերկինս ես* (every day we say seven times "Our Father who art in Heaven").[47] Hats'uni believes, however, that Hovhannēs Erznkats'i refers only to the final part of the offices and that it was only much later that the Pater noster formed an integral part of the *entry* to the office.[48] It would be surprising if this prayer did not enter the beginning of the office until the seventeenth century.[49]

The Doxology in the Armenian Night Office

The christological doxology is peculiar to the Armenians, and to my knowledge no other rite has one like theirs. The doxology is located immediately before the Lord's Prayer. Not only is it placed before the Pater noster in the night office but it also occurs together with the Lord's Prayer in virtually all the hours. Does this mean that the dominical prayer and doxology belong together? It is an important question with far-reaching implications: If on the one hand we opt for an intrinsic unity between the Lord's Prayer and the doxology, we have to conclude that the doxology is a later addition which came into the office with the inclusion of the Pater noster. The approximate date could therefore only be after the ninth century since the Lord's Prayer certainly did not pertain to the office before that time. On the other hand, if we could prove that this christological doxology was once independent of the Lord's Prayer, it could imply a relatively early date for its presence in the night office.

In order to come to a balanced conclusion, we must examine the evidence with great care. Hence I discuss both possibilities at some length. The scrutiny of the offices contained in the *ժամագիրք* (Horologion) clearly shows that now the christological doxology and the Pater noster form a unity.[60] Ōrmanian also seems to be of the opinion that they belong intrinsically together.[61] Does this strong evidence also imply that they have *always* been together? Perhaps not. It could be that formerly there was only the doxology which opened the night office to which the Pater noster was added at a much later time. It is significant that we do find one instance where the doxology occurs without the Lord's Prayer. Its position is a highly interesting one: the doxology stands between the *աղօթք* (prayer) and the beginning of the recitation of the *psalmodia currens.* A close look at the sequence of this part of the office may allow us to formulate the overall structure as follows:[62]

1. Christological doxology + Lord's Prayer
2. Invitatorial psalms + little doxology
   Hymn (attributed to Nersēs Shnorhali)[63]

3*a*. *Քարոզ* (intercessions)
   Two hymns (attributed to Nersēs Shnorhali)[64]

3*b*. *Աղօթք* (collect)

4. Christological doxology
5. Psalmody in numerical order

The location of the second christological doxology (4) raises the question: to which part of the office does this doxology belong, to the *աղօթք (3b)* or to the beginning of the monastic psalmody (5)? Ōrmanian is somewhat unclear with regard to the nature of the doxology, but his statement that the doxology (4) appears *իբր հին սովորութեան մի բե-կոր, եւ իբր մուտք նոր մասին* (as a remnant of an old custom and as the entry to the new part [i.e., the psalms (5)])[65] is intriguing, but it requires some discussion.

We know that the intercessions (3*a*) and the collect (3*b*) originally belonged together; it is obvious that the two hymns of Shnorhali are not inserted in the most fortunate way since they separate the collect from its respective intercessions. We also know that the unity of the intercessions and collect once formed the conclusion of the office, and that their location at the beginning is a secondary development which must have occurred rather early since the intercessions and collect were already present in the beginning section of the office at the time of Ōdznets'i and Siwnets'i.[66] We know, moreover, that the Pater noster concludes the office. This could mean therefore: *(a)* that the doxology at this place (i.e., immediately after the collect [see 4]) implies its original, intimate connection with the dominical prayer; *(b)* that the

CHART 3

Survey on the Various Doxologies Before the Invitatory of the Night Office

East-Syrian[a]	Armenian[b]	Maronite[c]	Byzantine (sabaitic tradition)[d]
1. *Doxology*	1. *Doxology*	1. *Doxology*	1. *Doxology*
Gloria in excelsis (Luke 2:14)[e]	Blessed [is] our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen.[f]	Gloria in excelsis (Luke 2:14)	Gloria Patri[g]
Gloria Patri[h]	—	Gloria Patri	Gloria in excelsis (Luke 2:14)
—	Ps. 50:17 *(bis)*[i]	Ps. 50:17 *(bis)*[j]	Ps. 50:17 *(bis)*
2. *Invitatory*	2. *Invitatory*	2. *Invitatory*	2. *Invitatory*
[3. *Psalmody*]	[3. *Psalmody*]	[3. *Psalmody*]	[3. *Psalmody*]

[a] See Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 43.

[b] See *Horologion*, pp. 15 ff.

[c] See J. Mateos, "Le 'Gloria in excelsis' du début des offices maronites," *L'Orient Syrien*, 12 (1967), 117-121; idem, "L'invitatoire du nocturne chez les syriens et les maronites," *L'Orient Syrien*, 11 (1966), 353-366.

[d] See *La prière* (prières initiales), pp. 121 ff; Mateos, "Quelques problèmes," p. 24.

[e] Followed by the Lord's Prayer which was introduced around the ninth century.

[f] Followed by the Pater noster which was perhaps introduced the earliest during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

[g] Followed by the Lord's Prayer (introduced in the office before the ninth century). The Lord's Prayer is concluded by a trinitarian doxology.

[h] Followed by three prayers.

[i] Followed by a trinitarian doxology: "Blessed [is] the consubstantial and united and undivided, holy Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and always . . ." (see *Horologion*, p. 16).

[j] Followed by other verses from different psalms which are clearly secondary (see Mateos, "Gloria in excelsis," p. 120).

presence after the collect also points to the fact that at one time the intercessions and collect formed the conclusion of the office, and that they were subsequently also inserted in the beginning section of the office; *(c)* that the Lord's Prayer (although belonging to the christological doxology) was dropped because the Pater noster was already said at the beginning of the synaxis.

Yet, we could still ask why the doxology was not dropped together with the dominical prayer. If the doxology and the Lord's Prayer really form so tightly knit an entity, why was the doxology not suppressed together with the Pater noster? Perhaps the independence of the doxology points to a different solution. It may very well be that the doxology in this place *always* stood on its own, thus having nothing to do with the Pater noster. It is indeed possible that the doxology is not connected with the intercessions and collect (see $3a+b$), but that it should actually be interpreted as the ancient entry to the variable psalmody (see 5) of the night office. The presence of the doxology immediately before the psalmody would then indeed be *Հին սովորութեան մի բեկոր, եւ իբր մուտք նոր մասին* (the remnant of an old custom and like the entry to the new part [i.e., the psalmody]), as Ōrmanian had intuitively suggested. What Ōrmanian vaguely considered as a possibility in his brief survey on the *փառաբանութիւն* (doxology) can perhaps be proved on the basis of comparative liturgy.

To determine the original function and *Sitz im Leben* of the doxology within the office, I compare the different doxologies and their combination with Ps. 50:17 in the Armenian, East-Syrian, Maronite, and Byzantine night offices. The text of Ps. 50:17 (*Armenian Vulgate:* "Lord, if you open my lips, my mouth will sing your praise") obviously shows that this psalm verse is nothing other than a variation on the theme of praise as already formulated in the various doxologies. Hence Ps. 50:17 has to be included in the investigation of the introductory praise. I omit the inclusion of the Pater noster in chart 3 since its varying place can be seen in the respective, added apparatus.

The following conclusions emerge from this comparative survey:

1. Each of the offices listed begins the synaxis with a doxology, whether it be in the address to Christ which is peculiar to the Armenians, whether it be in the form of the message of the angels to the shepherds on the night of Christ's birth, that is, the Gloria in excelsis (= Luke 2:14), or whether it be in the trinitarian little doxology, the Gloria Patri. Thus, we have three different introductory doxologies: the *Gloria in excelsis* which seems to be the genuine Syriac opening of the night office, the Greek (sabaitic) *Gloria Patri,* and the Armenian *Blessed [is] our Lord* which has an archaic ring.

2. The initial doxology became expanded in each of these rites. There can be little doubt that these additional praises ought to be considered as duplications. The East-Syrians and Armenians seem to reflect an older stratum than the Maronites and Byzantines since they added only one other praise, whereas the Maronites, and in particular the Byzantines, enriched the beginning doxology with several doxologies (see also chart 1). The Syrians added the Gloria Patri. The Armenians, Maronites, and Byzantines joined Ps. 50:17 to the other doxology. Psalm 50:17 seems to belong to the Syro-Palestinian tradition (with which the Byzantine office in its later shape is also associated). Hence, this psalm verse does not belong to the original Armenian night office, but was introduced through outside influence. Psalm 50:17 is already attested to in the seventh-eighth century as forming part of the Armenian nocturn.[57] The Armenians could not have borrowed this psalm verse from Constantinople because, at that time, the sabaitic tradition of Jerusalem had not yet attained its influence upon Hagia Sophia.[58] Thus we have to exclude Byzantine mediatorship in connection with the presence of Ps. 50:17 in the Armenian night office.

3. We know from J. A. Jungmann's superb study on the little doxology (Gloria Patri) that its shape had undergone some changes during the christological disputes in the fourth century, and that the Gloria Patri in its present form is of Syro-Palestinian origin.[59] It does not seem that we need to associate the peculiar Armenian doxology with the christological controversies in general and with "monophysitic" tendencies in particular. If the Armenian doxology in its christological form had emerged from the context of the disputes regarding the nature of Christ, then the Armenians would have probably given it a tangible, "monophysitic" slant, and we could therefore expect to find defensive comments of the doxology in the Armenian literature as was the case with the Trisagion. There is no trace, however, of any explanatory comments on the doxology in the Armenian writings. Moreover, the Armenians would have connected their doxology with the Trisagion. The doxology would have lent itself for such a purpose. But we know that the Armenians use the Trisagion only at the end of their cathedral offices of the morning and evening, and *not* at the monastic night office. (They share this practice with the East-Syrians as we have seen.) Thus, the Armenian offices contrast with the Byzantine synaxis in that the Trisagion consistently opens and ends the Byzantine offices.

Hence, I believe that the Armenian doxology antedates the "monophysitic" controversies, and that it represents the oldest in-

troduction to the Armenian night office since the Gloria in excelsis probably mirrors the traditional Syriac beginning of the office, and the Gloria Patri reflects the characteristic Greek opening of the synaxis.

THE INVITATORY PSALMS

Psalm 50:17 seemingly forms the bridge to the invitatory psalms. It could even be that verse 17 ("Lord if you open my lips, my mouth will proclaim your praise"; *armen Vg*) led to the addition of other psalms as is clearly the case in the Maronite office.[60]

It was mentioned above that the early Constantinopolitan Divine Office became substituted by the sabaitic tradition after the eleventh century. The invitatory in the tenth-century office of Hagia Sophia consisted, according to Mateos, of Pss. 3, 62, and 133[61] in contrast with the later (sabaitic) Byzantine practice where the so-called *hexapsalmos* (= Pss. 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142) introduced the nocturnal variable psalmody.[62] Mateos called attention to the fact that the invitatory in the Armenian night office shows a striking similarity to the Byzantine-sabaitic tradition.[63] The invitatory of the Armenians, which consists of Pss. 3, 87, 102, 142, reflects the older stratum of the Byzantine hexapsalmos: the ancient invitatory psalm is Ps. 3 to which the Armenians attached the triad of Pss. 87, 102, 142. Then Pss. 37 and 62 were added in order to form two triads, thus creating the hexapsalmos of the Byzantine orthros.[64] It is tempting to conclude that the Armenians borrowed their invitatory from the Byzantines at a time when the Constantinopolitan invitatory still consisted of a *tetrapsalmos* (Pss. 3, 87, 102, 142). Yet we have to rule out any Byzantine influence on the formation of the Armenian invitatory since the Armenians already had Pss. 3, 87, 102, and 142 by the end of the seventh century as the testimony of Ödznets'i clearly demonstrates.[65] Constantinople had, however, by that time, not yet assimilated the sabaitic shape of the office. Hence, any influence of Byzantium on the Armenian office has to be dismissed; or, rather, the Armenians *and* the (sabaitic) Byzantine office seem to point to a common source of Syro-Palestinian origin, perhaps that of Jerusalem in particular.

We can assume that Ps. 3 probably formed the oldest invitatory psalm to the variable psalmody of the Armenian night office since we find this psalm also in both the earlier and later Byzantine office. It is also present in the East-Syrian *lelya*, in the night office of Tikrit, in the Coptic and Ethiopic offices, the Benedictine nocturn, and the old-Spanish office.[66] Indeed, verse 6 of Ps. 3 lent itself as an appropriate invitatory to the nocturnal gathering: "I lay down and I slept, I awoke

CHART 4

The Expansion of the Introductory Part of the Armenian Night Office

Origins	Late fifth century (?)	Before the end of seventh century	During (or shortly after) twelfth century (= present shape)
Doxology	1. *Initial Doxology*	1. *Initial Doxology*	1. *Initial Prayer*
	Christological doxology	Christological doxology	Christological doxology
			Pater noster
	Ps. 50:17	Ps. 50:17	Ps. 50:17
		Trinitarian doxology	Trinitarian doxology
	2. *Invitatory Psalm*	2. *Invitatory Psalms*	2. *Invitatory Psalms*
	Ps. 3	Ps. 3 and	Ps. 3 and
		87, 102, 142	87, 102, 142
		Little doxology	Little doxology
		3. *Intercessions*	3. *Hymns and Intercessions*
		քարոզ + աղօթք	Hymn
			քարոզ
			Two hymns
			աղօթք
	3. *Variable Psalmody*	4. *Variable Psalmody*	4. *Variable Psalmody*
	Christological doxology	Christological doxology	Christological doxology
Psalmodia currens	Psalmodia currens	Psalmodia currens	Psalmodia currens

and the Lord is welcoming me" *(armen Vg)*. Also verse 1 of Ps. 87 refers to the night which was probably the reason for its inclusion in the fixed psalmody. Psalm 102, with its verses 1-2, 20-22 (1-2: *Օրհնեա անձն իմ* [Bless (or: Praise) my soul]; 20-22*a*: *Օրհնեցէք զտէր* [Praise the Lord]; 22*b*: *Օրհնեա անձն իմ* [Bless my soul], and Ps. 50:17 ("Lord if you open my lips, my mouth will sing *your praise* [*զօրհնութիւնս քո*]), take up once more the theme of the initial praise in the doxology: *Օրհնեալ տէր մեր*. . . . (Blessed [is] our Lord . . .). Only Ps. 142 does not seem to fit entirely into the themes mentioned above.

Ōdznets'i and Siwnets'i, our earliest testimony for the introductory part of the night office, refer only briefly to Ps. 50:17 and the other four psalms, mentioning also the intercessions that follow this fixed psalmody. The tenth-century commentary of Andzewats'i does not explain the first part of the night office. Hence, we had to interpret the evolution of this part of the nocturnal synaxis on the basis of comparative liturgy; and thus we come to the following conclusions in regard to its historical development:

The introductory part of the Armenian night office has preserved a greater structural transparency than that of the Byzantines and Syrians. Discernible are several stages in the evolution of the introductory prayers and psalms that begin the Armenian nocturnal gathering. This is best delineated by chart 4, followed by some explanations.

1. It appears that at the very beginning there was only a doxology (and perhaps it was the present one: "Blessed [is] our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen"), after which the monks began with the recitation of the psalms in numerical order. This sequence is still reflected in the present Armenian *Horologion*, pp. 40-41:

Blessed [is] our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen.

Alleluia. Alleluia.

Psalmody.

Thus, all that precedes this part of the office ought to be considered as later additions which enriched the introductory part during the course of time.

2. The next stage is marked by an expansion of the doxology and the introduction of Ps. 3 which served as an invitatory to the nocturnal psalmody of the monks. The Armenians added Ps. 50:17 ("Lord if you open my lips, my mouth will sing your praise") to their initial doxology, perhaps through outside influence. This psalm seems to go back to the Syro-Palestinian tradition. In regard to Ps. 3 we have seen that this psalm is used in both the East and West as a fixed introduction to the variable group of psalms which are recited in numerical order. Hence, this universal nocturnal psalm ought to be considered as one of the oldest invitatories to the night office.

3. Later on, however, the doxology and the original and oldest invitatory psalm became further expanded. It may be that before the end of the seventh century Ps. 50:17 already ended with a trinitarian doxology as it does in the present night office. The Armenians (and later also the Byzantines) added, through Syro-Palestinian influence, the triad of Pss. 87, 102, and 142 to the older invitatory Ps. 3. This extended fixed psalmody was then concluded by intercessions, that is, the քարոզ with its աղօթք (collect). This must have happened before the end of the seventh century, because Ōdznets'i and Siwnets'i already refer to the expanded invitatory and the concluding intercessions.[87] Some of the intercessions with their final collect may very well go back to Mandakuni (420?-490) as the strong consensus in the Armenian tradition would imply. But I do not believe that the position of the intercessions after the invitatory psalms is older than the seventh century, since the intercessions originally concluded the synaxis.

4. On the basis of comparative liturgy we hypothetically assumed that the Pater noster was perhaps inserted into the Armenian night office by the tenth or eleventh century as the earliest time (see n. 49).

5. Nersēs Shnorhali composed several hymns which were added to the night office either during his lifetime, that is, the twelfth century, or shortly after his death. The hymns were added to the section that concludes the fixed introductory psalmody. The choice to insert two hymns between the intercessions and their respective collect was not a very fortunate one since the intercessions and the collect form an intrinsic unity.

The shape of the introductory part of the night office of the twelfth century has survived to the present day as a comparison with the *textus receptus* of the Armenian Horologion indicates.

Of significant importance is the fact that the structure of the Armenian night office (at least in regard to the part under investigation here) does not point to any Byzantine influence. Rather, the analysis implies that the Armenians were inspired by the Syro-Palestinian tradition.

In comparison with the night offices of the Byzantines, West-Syrians, and East-Syrians, the Armenian night office reflects the oldest shape of the doxology and introductory prayers. The Armenians demonstrate, therefore, a considerable sensitivity for the structural transparency of a ritual as is also apparent in their baptismal liturgy.[88]

NOTES

1. The full title is *Կարգաւորութիւն հասարակաց աղօթից Հայաստանեայց եկեղեցւոյ, որ կատարի ի մէջ գիշերի ի դէմս Հօր Աստուծոյ* (The Order of Common Prayers of the Armenian Church Which is Celebrated in the Middle of the Night in Honor of God, the Father).

2. I am using the Jerusalem edition of 1955: *Ժամագիրք Հայաստանեայց Ս. Եկեղեցւոյ . . .* (Horologion of the Holy Church of the Armenians . . .); the night office begins at p. 15. (Hereafter *Horologion.*)

3. See F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum, Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church* . . . (Oxford, 1905), App. I, pp. 443 ff., 447 ff., 488 ff.

4. *Հ. Վ. Հացունի, Պատմութիւն Հայոց Աղօթամատոյցին* (Venice, 1965). The book consists of articles previously published in *Bazmavep*, beginning with 114 (1956) and ending with 123 (1964).

5. *Մ. Օրմանեան, Ծիսական Բառարան* (Antilias, Lebanon, 1957), pp. 205 ff. This *Dictionary* was reprinted in 1979, without, however, the last two parts, i.e., the two sections on the night office which included the index.

6. See G. Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office II: The Unit of Psalmody, Canticles, and Hymns," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 17 (1983), 471-551.

7. See *Horologion*, pp. 15-40.

8. Ibid., pp. 41-65; see Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office II," pp. 472, 474-482.

9. The first group of Gospels is read every Sunday during Lent (see *Horologion*, pp. 65-87; I Include the hymn *Այսօր անճառ* since it belongs thematically to this part). This group of Gospels has an interesting background: They are taken from Good Friday; see *Աւագ շաբաթ Հայաստանեայց առաքելական սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ . . .* (Holy Week of the Armenian Holy Apostolic Church . . .) (New Julfa, 1895), pp. 404 ff. (beginning with the hymn *Այսօր անճառ*). We can trace further the history of the readings and respective psalms: they go back to the night vigil of Maundy Thursday in Jerusalem, and they are already present in the *Armenian Lectionary* of the fifth century (see A. Renoux, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, Vol. II, *Édition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits. Introduction, textes, traduction et notes*, Patrologia Orientalis 36 [Turnhout, 1971], pp. 270-281), as Renoux has shown in "Le Triduum pascal dans le rite arménien et les hymnes de la Grande Semaine," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 7 (1970), 55-122, and "Liturgie de Jérusalem et lectionnaires arméniennes. Vigiles et année liturgique," *La Prière des heures*, Lex Orandi 35 (Paris, 1963), pp. 188 f. The second group of psalms and Gospels (of which only four are listed in the *Horologion*) is distributed over the other Sundays of the year. These Gospels (which are referred to as *հանգստեան աւետարան* [Gospels of repose] are taken from the office for the defunct as their name already indicates. They are also introduced by a hymn, the *հանգստեան շարական* (hymn of repose), accompanied by the *հանգստեան սաղմոսք* (psalms of repose), all of which pertain to the office for the defunct; see Ormanian, *Dictionary*, pp. 238 f. For the reference in the *Horologion* see the rubrics on pp. 58, 86-87; for the psalms see pp. 87-100; for the Gospels see pp. 100-109; for the chants, supplication, intercessions, and prayer see pp. 109-127. (I am grateful to my student Rev. Kh. Barsamian from the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem for having clarified some points in regard to the Gospel readings for the defunct.)

I suggest that both groups of Gospel readings in the Sunday Armenian night office are nothing other than a reflection of the office of *իւղաբերից* (myrophores), and that they have to be studied in connection with the Sunday cathedral vigil.

V

10. See *Horologion*, pp. 127-215. If one eliminates the later addition of chants and the reading material which are also secondary, then the archaic structure of the office emerges which consists of the invitatory, the psalmody in numerical order, and closure. It should be said that the Armenians reduced the central part of the office, i.e., the monastic *psalmodia currens*, to a few psalm verses; and, at the same time, added reading material and hymns of cathedral provenance and character. That means that they have given their originally monastic type of office a considerable cathedral slant.

11. For an extensive bibliography on the history of these different types of offices see G. Winkler, "Das Offizium am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts und das heutige chaldäische Offizium, ihre strukturellen Zusammenhänge," *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 19 (1970), 289, and "A New Study of Early Development of the Divine Office," *Worship*, 56 (1982), 27-28 n. 2. I do not agree with Hats'uni's hypothetical outline of the original shape of the offices in his *Պատմութիւն* (p. 183) where he distributes the recitation of the psalms over all the hours; see also the critical assessment of Hats'uni's study by Kh. Barsamian, "Some Remarks on the Origins and Early Evolution of the Morning Office . . . ," (in preparation).

12. See Winkler, "A New Study," p. 32 and passim; for the morning synaxis see the critique of Hats'uni's study on *առաւօտեան* by Barsamian, "Some Remarks on the Origins"; for a brief survey on the peculiarities of the Armenian vespers, see G. Winkler "Über die Kathedralvesper in den verschiedenen Riten des Ostens und Westens," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 16 (1974), 78-80.

13. For more details see Winkler, "Armenian Night Office II," pp. 475-476, 482.

14. For a brief introduction to Ödznets'i and Siwnets'i see *Ն. Պողարեան, Հայ Գրողներ* (Armenian Authors) (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 98-102, 112-115.

15. For details see Winkler, "Armenian Night Office II" (pp. 475, 476, 478-479) where the term and origins of *զորագայ* are discussed.

16. At that time the morning office (*առաւօտեան*) seems to have immediately followed the night office (*գիշերային*) since elements characteristic of the morning office are sometimes listed among the nocturn: see, e.g., *Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ* (About Church Discipline), attributed to Ödznets'i, pp. 82-87 (I use the Venice edition of 1833: *Յովհաննու Իմաստասիրի Աւձնեցւոյ Մատենագրութիւնք* [Writings of the Philosopher Hovhannēs Ödznets'i]) and Siwnets'i's *Ժամակարգութեան Մեկնութիւն* (Commentary on the Office), pp. 362-363, 485 ff. (edition by *Ա. Ամատունի* in *Ararat* (1915), 225-236, 237-239, 361-364, 485-496, 634-639; (1916), 129-141, 406-412, 694-703). (Hereafter Ödznets'i, *Writings*, and Siwnets'i, *Commentary* I (= 1915) and II (= 1916).

17. See *Խ. Անձեւացի, Գիրք որ կոչի Մեկնութիւն Աղօթից* (Book Which is Called Commentary on the Prayers) (Constantinople, 1730), p. 40. Andzewats'i is above all interested in the explanation of the prayers, hence he gives more attention to them than to the psalmody.

18. See *Horologion*, pp. 15-24.

19. For a brief introduction see Bogharian, pp. 233-239.

20. See *Horologion*, pp. 24-40; Ormanian, *Dictionary*, pp. 212-221, for the chants by Nersēs Shnorhali. For the investigation of the hymnodic material in general, i.e., the formation of the Tropologion, two important contributions should be consulted: *Գ. Աւետիքեան, Բացատրութիւն Շարականաց որք պայծառին ի հասարակաց ժամակարգութեան Հայաստանեայց Եկեղեցւոյ* (Commentary on the Tropologion . . .) (Venice, 1814), and N. Ter-Mikaëlian, *Das armenische Hymnarium. Studien zu seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1905).

21. See Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office II," p. 482.

22. See Ödznets'i, *Կանոնք* (Canons) in *Writings*, p. 28; idem, *Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ* (About Church Discipline) also in *Writings*, p. 83; Siwnets'i, *Commentary*, I, 363.

23. A brief introduction is given by Bogharian, pp. 30-33.

24. Ormanian, *Dictionary*, pp. 216-219 (= *քարոզ*), pp. 221-222 (= *աղօթք*); Bogharian (p. 31) carefully speaks about the intercessions and collect as being attributed to Mandakuni.

25. See Hats'uni, p. 186.

26. For the responsories see Mateos, *Lelya—Ṣapra*, p. 43.

27. See Mateos, "Prières initiales."

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p. 494.

30. Ibid.

31. See Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, pp. 81-83; idem, "Prières initiales," pp. 494-496; W. C. van Unnik, *Nestorian Question on the Administration of the Eucharist by Isho'yahb IV* (Haarlem, 1937), p. 181; S. Y. Jammo, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne du début jusqu'à l'anaphore. Étude historique*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 207 (Rome, 1970), p. 71.

32. See Mateos, "Prières initiales," pp. 494-496.

33. See n. 31.

34. See Mateos, "Prières initiales," p. 498 (also p. 490): "Le 'Gloire au Père' qui, chez les Byzantins, *suit* le 'Notre Père'." It is possible that Mateos confused the little doxology, "Gloria Patri," with the trinitarian doxology. In the Byzantine office the "Gloria Patri" precedes the "Pater noster," whereas the trinitarian doxology ("Glory be to the holy, consubstantial and undivided Trinity, now and always") *follows* the Lord's Prayer.

35. Ibid., pp. 496-498.

36. Ibid., p. 498.

37. Not Movsēs K'ert'ogh. (I want to thank Kh. Barsamian for his valuable suggestions in connection with the authorship of the earliest reference to the Trisagion.)

38. See Bogharian, p. 109. Hats'uni (p. 195) makes reference, in connection with the Trisagion, to Movsēs, but he identifies him with Movsēs K'ert'ogh. Bogharian (p. 39) dates Movsēs K'ert'ogh, with some hesitation, in the fifth-sixth century, whereas V. Inglisian *(Die armenische Literatur* [in B. Spuler, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I/7 (Leiden, 1963)] p. 173) lists him among the seventh-century writers .

39. See Bogharian, p. 110.

40. See n. 38.

41. See Ōdznets'i, *Writings*, p. 7.

42. See Ōdznets'i, *Կանոն* (Canon) 22 and 24 in *Writings*, pp. 29, 30; *Ատենաբանութիւն* (Oratio synodalis) in *Writings*, p. 20 and passim. Siwnets'i (*Commentary*, I, 490 ff.) dedicates an entire chapter to the Trisagion, placing his explanations immediately after his comments on the morning office; the Trisagion is also mentioned in *Commentary*, II, 136 and passim.

43. The Trisagion concludes *առաւօտեան* (morning office) and *երեկոյեան ժամ* (evening office), see *Horologion*, pp. 305-306, 559-560.

44. See Mateos, "Prières initiales," pp. 494-495.

45. See J. Mateos, "Un horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas. Le codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IXe siècle)" in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Vol. III, Studi e Testi 233 (Vatican, 1964), p. 48; see also p. 76: "Les prières finales des heures [sont] devenues prières initiales."

46. For a brief survey see Bogharian, pp. 360-363.

47. Quoted in Hats'uni, p. 248.

48. Ibid.

49. On the basis of comparative liturgy I would suggest the time span between the

tenth and eleventh century as the earliest possible time and the fifteenth century as the latest date (the latter date is favored by Kh. Barsamian).

50. *Գիշերային* (night office) and *առաւօտեան* (morning service): both the doxology and Lord's Prayer are together and form the beginning and end of the offices, see *Horologion*, pp. 15, 127, 217, 316, (333, 359). According to the present *Horologion*, both are absent from the beginning of *արեւագալ* (sunrise office), *երեկոյեան* (evening service), *խաղաղական* (peace office), and *հանգստեան* (repose office), see *Horologion*, pp. 360, 533, 583, 637; but we do find the doxology and the dominical prayer at the conclusion of these offices, see *Horologion*, pp. 381, 634, 654 (674) with the exception of *երեկոյեան* (evening office) were (according to the *Horologion*, p. 573) only the Lord's Prayer is indicated at the conclusion of the office. Kh. Barsamian, from the Armenian Patriarchate, informed me that the doxology is also said together with the Pater noster at the end of the evening office. With regard to the beginning of these offices listed above (*արեւագալ* [sunrise office] and the others) the present practice (according to Kh. Barsamian) is to recite the Lord's Prayer with its initial doxology despite the fact that in the printed *Horologion* we do not find it prescribed for all the hours (see also the Little Hours where the Lord's Prayer with the doxology is referred to not at the beginning but only at the conclusion, see *Horologion*, pp. 383, 395, 396, 407, 409, 427). Whether the silence in the *Horologion* of Jerusalem is significant needs further investigation by comparing the Jerusalem edition (which I am using) with other, perhaps earlier editions.

51. See Ōrmanian, *Dictionary*, p. 207.

52. See *Horologion*, pp. 15-41.

53. The hymn is secondary since it was introduced only at the time of Nersēs Shnorhali, i.e., during the twelfth century.

54. The hymns are secondary for the reason given in preceding note.

55. See Ōrmanian, *Dictionary*, p. 225.

56. See Ōdznets'i, *Writings*, pp. 28, 82-83; Siwnets'i, *Commentary*, I, 362.

57. See Ōdznets'i, *Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ* (About Church Discipline) in *Writings*, p. 82.

58. In the evolution of the Byzantine office we have to distinguish the genuine practice of Constantinople which became supplanted by the sabaitic office after the eleventh century (see A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," *Oriens Christianus*, 2 (1927), 1-32; A. Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony svatogrobskij, Ierusalimskij, i Velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj Cerkvi* (Kiev, 1907), chap. 3; A. Erhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, Vol. I, Texte und Untersuchungen z. Geschichte d. altchr. Literatur (Leipzig, 1936).

59. See J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 19/20 (Münster, 1962[2]), pp. 151-168, 170, 172 ff.; see also A. Stuiber, "Doxologie," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 4 (1959), cols. 210-226.

60. See Mateos, "Gloria in excelsis," p. 120.

61. See J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, Xe siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, Vol. I, *Le cycle des douze mois*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165 (Rome, 1962), p. xxiii.

62. See Mateos, "Quelques problèmes," pp. 23, 24.

63. Ibid., p. 26.

64. Ibid. See also G. Winkler, "Zur Geschichte des armenischen Gottesdienstes im Hinblick auf den in mehreren Wellen erfolgten griechischen Einfluss," *Oriens Christianus*, 58 (1974), 167, 169; A. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus. Typen frühchristlicher*

und ihr Fortleben vor allem im römischen und monastischen Ritus, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 32 (Münster, 1956), p. 91.

65. See Ödznets'i, Կանոնք (Canons) in *Writings*, p. 28; *Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ* (About Church Discipline) in *Writings*, pp. 82-83.

66. See J. Mateos, "Office de minuit et office du matin chez s. Athanase," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 28 (1962), 176-178; idem, "Les matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriennes," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 26 (1960), 67, 69, 71; idem, "Quelques problémes," p. 25; Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus.*, p. 91.

67. See Ödznets'i, Կանոնք (Canons) in *Writings, p. 28; Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ* (About Church Discipline) in *Writings*, pp. 82-83; Siwnets'i, *Commentary*, I, 237, 361-362.

68. See G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 217 (Rome, 1982).

VI

THE ARMENIAN NIGHT OFFICE II:
THE UNIT OF PSALMODY, CANTICLES, AND HYMNS WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE ORIGINS AND EARLY EVOLUTION OF ARMENIA'S HYMNOGRAPHY

In a previous article on the Armenian night office we attempted to trace the historical development of the initial part of *գիշերային*[1]. A brief survey of earlier studies opened the investigation, followed by some remarks about the present structure of the entire office of the night, which then led to the discussion of the introductory part of it. We distinguished there the opening doxology and the Lord's prayer, the doxology (ps 50:17) which forms a bridge to the fixed psalmody (= invitatory), the intercessions which conclude this first part of the office, followed by the repetition of the initial doxology which also opens the variable psalmody. The investigation was done on the basis of a comparative study. Particular attention was given to the initial doxology which is then repeated before the *psalmodia currens*, analysing also in greater detail the presence of the trisagion (at the end of the Armenian offices) and the late date for the inclusion of the *Pater noster* in the Armenian horologion. The investigation of the invitatory led us to the conclusion that the striking resemblance between the Byzantine *hexapsalmos* and the Armenian invitatory psalms does not imply any borrowing from the Byzantine office by the Armenians, but that the origins of both invitatories have to be located probably in Syro-Palestine.

In this essay we shall look into the unfortunate gradual elimination of the variable psalmody which had become enriched at a rather early period with canticles, both of which were then subsequently supplanted by hymns of ecclesiastical provenance. Thus the original main element, the meditation of the psalms recited in numerical order, became eventually suppressed by secondary elements, first by the

[1] Cf. G. Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office I: The Historical Background of the Introductory Part of Գիշերային ժամ" *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 1 (chapter V in this volume).

canticles and then by the hymns. Before going into the details of this deplorable evolution let us first achieve greater clarity about the sequence and original character of the various elements of the entire night office. These pieces could either be simply listed one after the other or grouped together according to their proper meaning. We choose the latter because it provides a deeper understanding of the original nature and function of each part of the office.

The major items are followed by page indications (for example H 15 / 0 207) which refer to the Armenian horologion (*Ժամագիրք*, Jerusalem 1955, p. 15) = H, and M. Ōrmanean's *Ծիսական բառարան* (Antilias 1957, p. 207) = O.

STRUCTURAL OUTLINE OF THE ARMENIAN NIGHT OFFICE

A. *THE OPENING OF THE OFFICE*

- I. DOXOLOGY (H 15 / 0 207)
  - and Lord's prayer [= later addition]
- II. INVITATORY (H 16-24 / 0 207-211):
  - ps 50:17 as doxology + fixed psalmody: pss 3 + 87 102 142
  - chant [= later addition]
- III. INTERCESSIONS (H 28-31, 38-40 / 0 216-219, 221-222):
  - intercessions (*քարոզ*)
  - chant [= later addition]
  - collect (*աղօթք*)

B. *THE RECITATION OF THE PSALMS IN NUMERICAL ORDER*

- I. DOXOLOGY (H 40 / 0 225)
- II. VARIABLE PSALMODY (H 41-58 / 0 226-232)
  - *office for the dead** [= later addition] (H 58-127 / 0232-247):
    - – hymns + pss
    - – gospel
    - – chant
    - – prayers (*մաղթանք, քարոզ + աղօթք, Հայր մեր, մաղթանք*)
- III. CANTICLE / HYMN OF CANTICLE (H 127 / 0 257-260)
  - supplications (*մաղթանք*) [= later addition]

C. *THE CONCLUSION OF THE OFFICE*

INTERCESSIONS (H 131-143 / 0 273-276):
intercessions (*քարոզ*)
collect (*աղօթք*)

- chants (H 145-215 / 0 278, 280-281)
- supplications (*մաղթանք*)
- Lord's prayer

} [= later additions]

* Only on days when a liturgy is celebrated.

We have already investigated the opening of the office (= A. I-III) in the previous essay where we also discussed the doxology (= B. I) which opens the variable psalmody. Since I intend to summarize the historical development of the entire night office at the end I shall not go into a recapitulation of the conclusions about the beginning of the office now, but at the end of this article.

Concerning the unit of the variable psalmody (in Armenian often referred to as *կանոնք սաղմոսաց*), the canticles (*օրհնութիւնք*), and troparia (*շարականք*),[2] there are in particular two problems which

[2] The most important literature includes: M. ÖRMANEAN, *Ծիսական բառարան* [*Liturgical Dictionary*] (Antilias 1957); G. AWETIK'EA *Բացատրութիւն շարականաց* ... [*Commentary on the Hymnarium*...] (Venice 1814); N. TER-MIKAELIAN, *Das armenische Hymnarium* ... (Leipzig 1905); S. ČEMČEMEAN, "*Ձեռագիր շարակնոցները եւ անոնց կանոնները*" (The Manuscript Tropologia and their Canons), *Bazmavēp* 127 (1969), p. 193-209 (see also the issue of 1970 and S. Amatuni's study of the oldest manuscripts of the tropologia of Ējmiacin in: *Ararat* (1894), p. 85-88, 120-127, 176-180, 218-220, 250-256; *Bazmavēp* of 1970 and *Ararat* of 1894 were inaccessible to me); M. ABELEAN, *Հայոց հին գրականութեան պատմութիւն* (*History of the Old-Armenian Literature*) I (Beirut 1955), p. 500-516; H. SCHNEIDER, "Die biblischen Oden ...", *Biblica* 30 (1949), p. 28-65, 239-272, 433-452, 479-500; H. HUSMANN, "Die Gesänge der armenischen Liturgie", in: K.G. FELLERER (= ed.), *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik* I (Kassel 1972), p. 99-108; H.J. PETERMANN, "Ueber die Musik der Armenier", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 5 (1851), p. 365-372; A. RENOUX, "Le triduum pascal dans le rite arménien et les hymnes de la grande semaine", *REArm.* N.S. 7 (1970), p. 55-122; IDEM, "L'hymne de l'office nocturne du rite arménien durant la grande semaine", *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 2 (1968), p. 115-126; IDEM, "Le canon de la pentecôte dans l'hymnaire arménien", *Mémorial Mgr. Gabriel Khouri Sarkis* (Louvain 1969), p. 83-88; IDEM, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121* ... (= Patrologia Orientalis 35/163, 36/168, Turnhout 1969, 1971); B. OUTTIER, "Recherches sur la genèse de l'octoéchos arménien", *Études Grégoriennes* 14 (1973), p. 180-211; P. ESAPALEAN (= Essabalian), "*Հայերէն աւետարաններու սկզբնագրի հարցը եւ Ագաթանգեղոսի ու Ղազար Փարպեցւոյ կոչումները*" (The Question of the Beginning of the Armenian Gospels and the Quotations of Agathangelos and Łazar P'arpec'i), *HA* 49 (1935), col. 571-596; 50 (1936), col. 22-40, 185-195, 338-349; H.V. HAC'UNI, *Պատմութիւն Հայոց Աղօթամատոյցին* [*History of the Armenian Prayer-book*] (Venice 1965), p. 37, 40, 43, 49, 143, 147-161, 166, 175-178, 183, 185-192, 197, 210ff, 217, 219-224, 230-248; F. NÈVE, "L'hymnologie arménienne", *Le Muséon* 4 (1885), p. 359-368; *DACL* VI/2 ("Hymnes"), col. 2899-2901; II/2 ("Cantiques"), col. 1975-1999; J. MEARNS, *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western* ... (Cambridge 1914); A. BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus. Typen frühchristlicher Vigilienfeier* ... (= Lit. Quellen u. Forschungen 32, Münster 1957); IDEM, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten* ... (Paderborn 1910), particularly p. 44-53, 72, 112, 128ff, 158 (n. 1), 209; IDEM, *Comparative Liturgy* (London 1958); O. HEIMING, "Die Neun- und Drei-Odenkanones der Byzantiner", *Der christliche Orient in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 2 (1937), p. 105-109 (this article was inaccessable to me); K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches 527-1453* (Munich 1891; only this edition was at my disposal); J. MATEOS,

need to be solved, namely the relationship between the canticles and the psalmody and between the hymns and the canticles. But before we turn to these questions it is advisable to obtain some clarity about the arrangement of the psalms and canticles.

I. The monastic psalmody (*կանոնք սաղմոսաց*)[3] [cf. B. II in the outline]

Psalms in numerical order (i.e. pss 1-147, excluding pss 148-150[4]) are only recited in the office of the night in the Armenian tradition[5].

1. *The organization of the psalms*

The psalter is organized according to eight canons (*կանոն* I-VIII)[6] and the eight tones, beginning with *ձայն* (*tone*) 2-8, followed by tone 1[7].

Since at one time in every night office 1 *kanon* (*կանոն*) was sung,

Lelya-Ṣapra. Les offices chaldéens de la nuit et du matin (= Orientalia Chr. Analecta 156, Rome 1976[2]); Idem, "Les matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriennes", *Orientalia Chr. Periodica* 26 (1960), p. 51-73; Idem, "La vigile cathédrale chez Egérie", *Or. Chr. Per.* 27 (1961), p. 281-312; Idem, "Office de minuit et office du matin chez s. Athanase", *Or. Chr. Per.* 28 (1962), p. 173-180.

[3] Cf. Ōrmanean, p. 226-232 (*կանոն — սաղմոս* p. 226-228, *կանոնագլուխ* : p. 228-232); Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 159-160.

[4] Ōrmanean, p. 226-227; Outtier, «Octoèchos arménien», p. 182-183; Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 160-161 : A comparison of the Armenian with the Western evidence shows that they share the exclusion of pss 148-150; F.C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany Edited from the Oldest Mss. and the East Syrian Epiphany Rites* (Oxford 1905), p. 446.

[5] Cf. previous note; Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, p. 115. Now, however, the entire psalmody is no longer recited, only the *կանոնագլուխ* (*cf. infra*). Hac'uni's survey (p. 183-184, 217-218) on the distribution of the psalms in the various offices is based on the Latin structure of the breviary, instead of the Eastern tradition.

[6] Cf. note 4. It seems that the grouping of the psalms into eight canons is as artificial a division as the organisation of the psalter into eight tones. This is undoubtedly a later development. Is it possible that the 147 psalms were once divided into seven units, instead of eight? If there were only 7 canons, 1 canon for each day, then the 147 psalms were divided into 7 canons with 21 pss each : each canon consists of 7 subsections (*գոբդայք*) each of which has then precisely 3 pss.

[7] Cf. Ōrmanean, p. 226-227; Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 159; Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 446. For the grouping in eight tones cf. Outtier, "Octoèchos arménien", p. 229; J. Mateos, "L'office divin chez les chaldéens", *La prière des heures* (= Lex Orandi 35, Paris 1963), p. 271. The term *ձայն* (*tone*) is the equivalent of the Byzantine ἦχος, and *կողմ* (*side*) corresponds with πλάγιος; cf. Outtier, "Octoèchos arménien", p. 183. Yet this is somewhat arbitrary since — as Outtier has pointed out — "*le côté arménien* [*կողմ*] *ne connote cependant aucune relation avec le voix* [*ձայն*] *de même numéro, contrairement au* [πλάγιος]".

the entire psalter was thus completed within eight days[8]. The first Sunday of Lent (*բուն բարեկենդան*) began with the first *kanon* every year, sung with tone 8[9]. Each of the eight *kanons* ended with an Old Testament canticle (*օրհնութիւն*)[10]. Each *kanon* consisted of seven units, of psalms (to which I shall refer as subsections), the seven *գոբղայք*[11]. Each subsection (*գոբղայ*) has about 3 pss[12] and ends with a doxology (*փառաբանութիւն*)[13].

The last subsection of the *kanon*, i.e. the seventh *գոբղայ*, is referred to as *կանոնագլուխ* [14] (lit.: *head of the canon*), because of the greater solemnity with which this last subsection of the *kanon* is sung. However, not only the last, i.e. the seventh subsection, but originally also the first *գոբղայ* (subsection) was given special emphasis as Outtier pointed out with good reason[15]. The name *կանոնագլուխ* (*head of the canon*) very likely alludes to the principal *գոբղայ* (subsection) which perhaps was the first, rather than the seventh and last subsection of the psalmody. The musical ornamentation of the last subsection is perhaps a subsequent development[16]. Now only the *կանոնագլուխ*, i.e. the last subsection of the *kanon* is sung. The information gathered so far could be arranged in the following chart[17]:

կանոն (canon)	*սաղմոսք* (psalms)		*օրհնութիւն* (OT - canticle)		*ձայն* (tone)
I	1-17	(= 17 pss)	of Moses	Ex 15 : 1-19	8
II	18-35	(= 18 pss)	of Moses	Deut 32 : 1-21	1
III	36-54	(= 19 pss)	of Moses	Deut 32 : 22-43	2

[8] Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 159.

[9] Cf. ŌRMANEAN, p. 226; CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 446; MEARNS, *The Canticles*, p. 31.

[10] For the terminology *cf. infra*; for the canticles cf. CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 446 (there is a misprint at the 3rd canticle: it must be Deut 32:22-43 [not 34]); MEARNS, *The Canticles*, p. 31-32; BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 180-181.

[11] Cf. ŌRMANEAN, p. 226-227; OUTTIER, "Octoéchos arménien", p. 182. For further explanation *cf. infra*.

[12] Cf. ŌRMANEAN, p. 227 (there are not always precisely 3 pss; *cf. supra*, note 6).

[13] Cf. CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 446; ŌRMANEAN, p. 228; for example on p. 207 the author refers to the doxology as *փառաբանութիւն*.

[14] Cf. ŌRMANEAN, p. 228-232; the indication of psalm verses of the various *գոբղայք* and the *փոխք* apparently are not always correct (*cf. infra* note 61).

[15] Cf. OUTTIER, "Octoéchos arménien", p. 182 (n. 3).

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Cf. also ŌRMANEAN, p. 235, 258 (there are two printing errors: Ex 15 [not 17] and Is 45 [not 47]); CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 446.

IV	55-71 (= 17 pss)	of Hannah	I Sam 2 : 1-10	3
V	72-88 (= 17 pss)	of Isaiah	Is 26 : 9-20	4
VI	89-105 (= 17 pss)	of Hesekiah	Is 38 : 10-20	5
VII	106-118 (= 13 pss)	of Isaiah	Is 42 : 10-13 + 45,8	6
		of Jonah	Jon 2 : 3-10	
VIII	119-147 (= 29 pss)	of Habakuk	Hab 3 : 1-19	7

Each *kanon* consists of 7 subsections (*գորգայք*),
the last subsection is called *կանոնագլուխ*.
Each subsection ends with a doxology (*փառաբանութիւն*).
Only the seventh subsection, the *կանոնագլուխ*, has survived of the psalmody, the rest of the psalms were dropped.
The canticles were replaced by hymns (*շարականք*).

2. *The Armenian liturgical terminology and its Syriac and Byzantine equivalent*

A group of psalms recited in numerical order is called *կանոն սաղմոսաց* (*kanon of psalms*). Both words are Greek loanwords, deriving from κανών and ψαλμός[18]. The Armenians use the term *կանոն* (*kanon*) not only for the various groups of psalms of the nocturnal *psalmodia currens*, but also for the series of hymns, the *կանոն շարականաց* (*kanon of troparia*), of the Divine Office (*cf. infra*). Likewise the Byzantine κανών consists of the troparia attached to the nine odes of the orthros[19], and in the East-Syrian tradition the *qanone* are also refrains[20], often consisting of non-biblical poetry. These troparia will occupy us later when we come to the evolution of the Armenian hymns. For the moment we will remain with the organization of the psalter in *canones*.

The Armenian monastic psalmody (pss 1-147)[21] is divided into 8 *kanons* (*կանոնք*), the Byzantine psalter is grouped into 20 καθίσματα, the East-Syrians have 20 *hullale*, and the West-Syrians arranged the

[18] Cf. H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik. Erster Teil: Armenische Etymologie* (Leipzig 1897/Hildesheim, New York 1972), p. 355, 376.

[19] For κανών cf. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église Ms. Saint-Croix n° 40, Xe siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* II (= Orientalia Chr. Analecta 166, Rome 1963), p. 299; Baumstark, *Festbrevier*, p. 71-72.

[20] Cf. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 495; Baumstark, *Festbrevier*, p. 70.

[21] In contrast to the other Eastern rites which include also the pss 148-150.

psalms in 15 *marmyata*[22]. These psalm units (i.e. the Armenian 8 *kanonk'*, the Byzantine 20 *kathismata*, the East-Syrian 20 *hullale*, and the West-Syriac 15 *marmyata*) are further subdivided. The Armenian *kanon* consists of 7 *գործայք* (to which we refer as subsections), the Byzantine *kathisma* of 3 δόξαι[23], the West-Syrian *marmita* of 4 *šubḥe*, the East-Syrian *hullala* of 3 *marmyata*[24]. All of these subdivisions of the psalter have the final *Gloria patri* in common with which each psalm unit is concluded, as the Byzantine δόξα and the Syriac *šubḥa* indicate: δόξα and *šubḥa* are the incipit to the little doxology, the *Gloria patri*. The Armenian term for doxology is *փառաբանութիւն*[25], which also points to the incipit of the doxology: *փառք Հօր* (*Gloria patri*). Here is a chart of the Armenian, Byzantine, and Syrian division of the psalms and their respective terminology[26]:

ARMENIAN	BYZANTINE	EAST-SYRIAN	WEST-SYRIAN
pss 1-147 are divided into 8 *kanonk'*	pss 1-150 are grouped into 20 *kathismata*	pss 1-150 are grouped into 20 *hullale*	pss 1-150 are grouped into 15 *marmyata*
a *kanon* has 7 *gobłayk'*	a *kathisma* has 3 *doxai*	a *hullala* has 3 *marmyata*	a *marmita* has 4 *šubḥe*
a *gobłay* consists of 3 pss (+ doxology[27])	a *doxa* consists of 3 pss (+ doxology)	a *marmita* consists of 3 pss (+ doxology)	a *šubḥa* consists of 3 pss (+ doxology)
hence a *kanon* has 3 × 7 = 21 pss	hence a *kathisma* has 3 × 3 = 9 pss	hence a *hullala* has 3 × 3 = 9 pss	hence a *marmita* has 4 × 3 = 12 pss

[22] Cf. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 160; J. Mateos, "*Notulae* on the Syrian and Byzantine Psalter" (Oriental Institute, Rome, undated); Idem, "Athanase", p. 175-176.

[23] Also referred to as στάσεις; cf. L. Clugnet, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église grecque* (Paris 1895), p. 139; Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 491.

[24] Cf. Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 491, 500.

[25] Cf. Ōrmanean, p. 207.

[26] For the Armenians were used: Ōrmanean, p. 226ff and Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 446; for the Byzantine office: J. Mateos, "*Notulae* on the Byzantine Psalter" (Oriental Institute, Rome, undated); for the Syrians: J. Molitor, *Chaldäisches Brevier. Ordinarium des ostsyrischen Stundengebets übersetzt und erläutert* (Düsseldorf 1961), p. 40-42; Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 28-32, 44, 87-89, 192f, 364ff, 410-412; Idem, "*Notulae*"; Idem, "Athanase", p. 175-176; Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 156-160; Idem, *Festbrevier*, p. 70, 146f.

[27] Ōrmanean (p. 228, 232) informs us that each *գործայ* (subsection) is *preceded* by the alleluia (and that it concludes with the doxology). This is rather strange; I suspect

No consensus has been reached so far with regard to the etymology of *գոբղայ*. The word is spelled differently in Armenian documents: *գոբղայ*[28], *գուբղայ*[29],, *գոբաղայ* and*գուբաղայ*[30]etc. Hanssens followed the Mechitarists when he suggested a Latin origin of the term: *«ce mot n'est autre que le mot latin 'copula'»*[31]. Conybeare thought of a Greek connection: "*gubłay* or *gobłay* is explained by the Mechitarists as a transliteration of *copula*, though I believe it is from κεφάλαιον"[32]. Ōrmanean was of the opinion that the Armenian term derives from Hebrew[33]. I am inclined to assume a possible Syriac origin: perhaps *գոբաղայ* is connected with ܓܘܒܝܐ (*selection*)[34]. Already Ačaṙyan

that the preceding alleluia originally *concluded* the psalmody (see ŌRMANEAN, p. 232) as does the *Gloria patri* since the alleluia is a very ancient ending of a unit of psalms, already present in Athanasius' *De virginitate*; cf. MATEOS, "Athanase", p. 175. Which one (either the doxology or the alleluia) is the original Armenian ending for the group of psalms still needs to be investigated. Perhaps we have also to reckon with two different traditions which were subsequently merged, resulting thus in this duplication (alleluia + little doxology).

[28] Cf. S. AMATUNI (ed.), "*Ստեփաննոսի Սիւնեցւոյ, ժամակարգութեան մեկ-նութիւն*" (The Commentary on the Office by Step'annos Siwnec'i), *Ararat* (1915), p. 237; (1916), p. 407: *գոբողայ*. Siwnec'i will be abbreviated as *Մեկնութիւն* I (= 1915) and II (= 1916).

[29] ŌJNEC'I, "*Սակս գիշերային ժամու*" (Concerning the Night Office), p. 110. For Ōjnec'i I use the Venice edition of 1833 *Յովհաննու իմաստասիրի Աւձնեցւոյ մատենագրութիւնք* (*Writings of the Philosopher Yovhannēs of Awjun*), which will be abbreviated as *Մատենագրութիւնք*.

[30] Both forms are in the Armenian Lectionary; cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 270, 278; ŌJNEC'I, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 83, 84: *գոբաղայ*. For the variations in spelling see also H. AČAṘYAN, *Հայերէն արմատական բառարան* (*Armenian Etymological Dictionary*) I (Erevan 1971), p. 569. The other volumes were published in 1973 (= II), 1977 (= III), 1979 (= IV). [I am grateful to Archbishop Torkom Manoogian who gave me the precious volumes of Ačaṙyan while I was working on this article.]

[31] M. HANSSENS, *Nature et genèse de l'office des matines* (= Analecta Gregoriana 52, Rome 1952), p. 101.

[32] CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, p. 534.

[33] ŌRMANEAN, p. 226: ··· *Գուբղայ, որ ասել է եբրայական կէտուլա = սահման բառէն ծագում առած կ՝ երեւի մեզ, քան թէ լատինական* copula ··· *բառէն* (*Gubłay which, as it seems to us, derived rather from the Hebrew word* kētowla = *boundary than from the Latin word* copula).

[34] As a matter of fact in the 9th cent. commentary on the office, attributed to Giwargis of Arbela, we find (the plural form) ܓܘܒ̈ܝܐ associated with the recitation of a psalm; cf. R. H. CONNOLLY, *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta, accedit Abrahae bar Lipheh Interpretatio Officiorum* (= CSCO 64/25, 72/29 [= *textus*], 71/28, 76/32 [= *versio*], Louvain 1953-1954), p. 181: ... *nos delectos* (gubbāyē) *psalmos*; p. 232: ܓܘܒ̈ܝܐ Already Renoux had indicated this Syriac source, cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 180 (note 36: erroneous page indication, not p. 187, but 181). Yet there is some difficulty in comparing the 5th cent. Armenian

had considered a relationship of the Armenian term with Syriac. He was convinced that the Armenian word is a Syriac loanword, as the ending particularly shows, although he had the same difficulty determining the precise Syriac word from which the Armenian derives[35].

Our first witnesses for the *գոբաղայ* stem both from the fifth century: Łazar P'arpec'i (437?-500?) briefly alludes to it[36], and the Armenian Lectionary, which describes the Jerusalem liturgy of this period, provides us with greater detail about this liturgical term. The presence of the term in fifth century evidences rules out the possibility of a Latin origin of *գոբաղայ*. In the Armenian Lectionary the term is used for a group of psalms which are recited during the vigil of Maunday Thursday[37]. During this synaxis 5 *գոբղայք* were recited each consisting of 3 psalms: *եւ բառ երից երից սաղմոսաց գոբաղայ* (*et gobała*[*y*] *de psaumes trois par trois*)[38]. This psalm unit of 3 pss finds its parallel in the Syriac organization of the psalms into a group of 3 pss[39]; in the Byzantine (hagiopolite) tradition, which derives from St. Sabas in the vicinity of Jerusalem, the δόξα consists as well of 3 pss[40]. The earliest witness for the division into 3 pss is *De virginitate*, attributed to Athanasius, where after 3 pss the alleluia is said[41].

3. *The division of the psalmody in the Armenian documents from the 7th to 10th cent.*

We know nothing about the earliest arrangement of the psalms in

evidence (*cf. infra*) with the 9th cent. anonymous commentary: in the Armenian tradition *գոբաղայ* became a *terminus technicus* for the subsection of the *monastic* psalmody (i.e. the recitation of the psalms in numerical order), whereas the Syriac evidence refers to *gubbaya* in the context of *qale d-šahra* (i.e. the *cathedral* vigil). As is well known, the cathedral vigil has no recitation of psalms in numerical order. Thus *գոբաղայ* may indeed philologically be connected with the Syriac term, yet on the basis of comparative liturgy some difficulty remains.

[35] AČARYAN I, p. 569.

[36] Cf. HAC'UNI, p. 149 (I owe this indication to my student, Kh. Barsamian). HAC'UNI, who is rather sparing with his references, does only give a number in brackets (204) after mentioning P'arpec'i which probably refers to p. 204 of the Venice edition from 1873 of P'arpec'i's *History*; cf. HAC'UNI, p. 406.

[37] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 270-273.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 270-273. For Good Friday the following indication is given (in only one Ms: *Cod. Jerusalem 121*): ··· գուբաղաիւ ասեն զՀԸ սաղմոսն (*the psalm 78 is said with a* gubałay).

[39] Cf. MATEOS, "Athanase", p. 175-176.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 175 (n. 3).

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 173, 174f.

the Armenian Church. We only know that by the time of Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i and Step'annos Siwnec'i, that is in the 7th to 8th century, the psalmody of the night office consisted of 7 *գորդայք*[42]. The *canones* of the Synod of Dvin and the *Ատենաբանութիւն* (*Oratio Synodalis*), which belong to the undisputed works of Ōjnec'i (650?-728)[43], do not mention the monastic psalmody with its subsections of 7 *գորդայք*. The reason for this silence could be a simple one : the organization of the psalter for the night office was not an issue which needed particular attention at the time of the Synod. In the document *Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ* (*De Officiis Ecclesiae*), attributed to Ōjnec'i, we do find here and there some allusions to the arrangement of the monastic psalmody of the night office[44], likewise in the *Commentary on the Office*[45] of Step'annos Siwnec'i (680?-735)[46]. Both writings, the *Expositio* of Siwnec'i and the *De Officiis*, show considerable affinity with each other. N. Połarean suggested that both works derive from a common source. He also pointed out that the *De Officiis* differs from Ōjnec'i's other works in its linguistic style, implying thus that it may not have been written by Ōjnec'i himself[47]. Hac'uni always speaks of Pseudo-Ōjnec'i when he discusses the content of this source, dating him in the 9th century[48]. He thinks that Pseudo-Ōjnec'i's *De Officiis* is dependent on Siwnec'i's *Expositio*, in contrast to Połarean who considered the possibility of a third source from which both derive. With regard to the night and morning synaxis the *De Officiis* does not show structural differences from other works of Ōjnec'i. Hence we will not separate it from the other writings of Ōjnec'i in the present investigation of the night office. The discrepancies are only noticeable in the treatment of *արեւագալ* (*sunrise office*) which lies outside of our scope.

Some serious doubts about Ōjnec'i's authorship also arise with

[42] Cf. Ōjnec'i, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 83, 84; Siwnec'i, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 237, 362; II, p. 407.

[43] Cf. N. Połarean, *Հայ Գրողներ* [*Armenian Writers*] (Jerusalem 1971), p. 98-101.

[44] Cf. Ōjnec'i, *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 83, 84.

[45] Cf. Siwnec'i, "*Մեկնութիւն*" I, p. 237, 362; II, p. 407.

[46] Cf. Połarean, p. 112-115; see also Abełean, p. 511-515; *Հայկական Հին գրականութեան պատմութիւն* (*Դ — ԺԳ դար*) *History of the Old Armenian Literature (4th to 13th Cent.)*] (Venice 1897), p. 489-496.

[47] Cf. Połarean, p. 99, 115.

[48] Hac'uni, p. 32-33, 198 *passim*.

Սակս գիշերային ժամու (*Concerning the Night Office*) which is inserted in the edition of the works of Ōjnec'i[49]. This very short description of the nightly office seems to belong to a later period than Ōjnec'i, Siwnec'i, and even Xosrov Anjewac'i, who lived in the 10th century and whose extensive commentary on the Armenian liturgy has come down to us[50]. Anjewac'i is particularly interested in explaining the *քարոզ* (*intercession*), *աղօթք* (*prayer*), and *մաղթանք* (*supplication*) of the night office[51], but he also comments on the recitation of the psalmody, the *կանոն սաղմոսին* (*canon of the psalter*)[52], mentioning that the psalms are arranged in 7 subsections (*գուբղայք*)[53] each of which concludes with a doxology[54]. The short description of the night office in the edition of Ōjnec'i's works betrays signs of a later date than Anjewac'i's remarks about the office of the night. Particularly the allusion to the *Թագաւորք*[55] and the *ալէլուք* — the latter are reserved for sundays and feasts[56] — seem to reflect the liturgical practices of a later period than Xosrov Anjewac'i's *Commentary* of the 10th century, since not even Xosrov mentions the *Թագաւորք* in his extensive *Commentary* on the office. The other reason for assuming a possibly later period is the explicit reference to the *կանոնագլուխ* of which neither Anjewac'i nor Siwnec'i and Ōjnec'i have anything to say. Here is this interesting passage about the recitation of the psalms and the *կանոնագլուխ*[57] : *արդ եօթն գուբղայիւք կարգեալ է կանոն .... եւ եօթն գոչեմք գուբղայս բարձրաձայնիւ քաղքառով զկանոն[ա]գլուխսն* (*Now with the seven subsections* [*գուբղայիւք*] *the* kanon *is arranged ... and we sing*[58] *the seven subsections* [*and*] *with a loud ringing voice the* kanonaglux)[59].

[49] *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 109-110.

[50] Xosrov Anjewac'i, *Գիրք որ կոչի Մեկնութիւն Աղօթից* [*Book which is Called Commentary on the Prayers*] (Constantinople 1730).

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 9-129 (on the *քարոզ* : p. 9ff, 40, 48ff, 57ff, 73ff, 88ff; on the *աղօթք* : p. 20ff, 50ff, 68ff, 80ff, 93, 99ff; on the *մաղթանք* :p. 48, 57, 73, 87, 109).

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 40-48.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 40 (cf. p. 43, 48).

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 41, 43, 44.

[55] The *Թագաւոր* is the incipit to *Թագաւոր յաւիտենից* (*King of eternity*), a chant which now is sung at the end of the night office; for the *Թագաւորք ապաշխարութեան եւ մարտիրոսաց* cf. *Ժամագիրք Հայաստանեայց ս. եկեղեցւոյ* ··· [*Horologion of the holy Church of the Armenians* ...] (Jerusalem 1955), p. 145-167. (I am grateful to Kh. Barsamian for this indication.)

[56] Cf. *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 110; *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 168-215.

[57] Cf. note 56.

[58] Lit. : *we shout*.

[59] For an explanation of *կանոնագլուխ* *cf. supra*, notes 13-15.

It could be that this short passage about the office of the night was actually written after the 10th century and that it later became attributed to Ōjnec'i for reasons unknown to us. The allusions to the *Թագաւորք*, the *ալէլուք*, and the *կանոնագլուխ* seem to point to a later time than the 7th or even 10th centuries.

Paul Ricaut, British Consul of Smyrna in the 17th century, wrote at the request of his sovereign an account of what he saw and heard in Smyrna about the Greeks and Armenians. Deriving some of his knowledge about the Armenian Church from hearsay, since he himself had never set foot beyond the boarder regions of Armenia, one may perhaps not rely too heavily on his curious statement that in his time "the whole psalter of David is read over every 24 hours" in the Armenian monasteries[60]. By the 17th century the psalmody was probably already reduced to the *կանոնագլուխ* (i.e. the last *գորգայ* of the seven subsections which constitute a *kanon*).

4. *The present remnant of the psalmody*[61]

From the previous extensive recitation of the psalms in numerical order only the last, i.e. the seventh subsection (*գորգայ*) of the *kanon* has survived. Yet not even this last subsection of psalms in sung in its entirety, but only the first verses of the first and the last verses of the last one of these psalms. These last verses are referred to as *փոխ* (*alternation*). I shall give an outline of the sequence of the *կանոնագլուխք* with its *փոխք*, including also the page indications of the Armenian horologion (*ժամագիրք*).

Horologion (*ժամագիրք*)	7th subsection + (*կանոնագլուխ* +	and *փոխ*)	Doxology (*փառաբանութիւն*)	Tone (*ձայն*)
pp. 41-43	ps 34 : 1-7	ps 35 : 6-13	"	1
43-45	52 : 1-5	54 : 20b-24	"	2
45-47	70 : 1-6	71 : 11-19	"	3
47-49	88 : 1-7	88 : 40-53	"	4
50-51	105 : 1-6	105 : 41-48	"	5
52-53	118 : 121-126	118 : 169-176	"	6
53-55	145 : 1-7a	147 : 12-20	"	7
55-58	17 : 1-7a	17 : 40-51	"	8

[60] P. Ricaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (London 1679), p. 407.

[61] Cf. Örmanean, p. 226-232. (In my outline I have corrected the typographical errors in Örmancan by following the indications in the Armenian horologion and checking the psalm verses with the Armenian bible.) See also Husmann, "Die Gesänge der armenischen Liturgie", p. 100.

II. The canticles (օրհնութիւնք) and their inclusion in the night and morning offices [cf. B. III in the outline]

By the canticles the *odae* or *cantica* of the OT and NT are meant. Some of the OT canticles became integrated into the Easter Vigil at a very early date in contrast to the NT canticles which were used later in the office.

We have seen that in the Armenian tradition one OT canticle was attached to each *kanon* of psalms (*cf. supra*, chart). Since there are 8 *kanonk'*[62] of psalms the canticles also became artificially grouped into 8 odes for the night office. There can be little doubt that the arrangement of the canticles into 8 odes for the night office is a later development and not original.

The former presence[63] of 8 canticles in the office of the night requires a brief look into the history of the canticles and the evolution of their inclusion into the office.

Schneider's contribution on the Biblical canticles is still the best and most detailed investigation about the odes[64]. A number of problems arise in connection with the *cantica* which Schneider has partially solved. He is undoubtedly right about the original place of the odes in the Easter vigil and that this vigil included only OT canticles and not those of the NT. I am less convinced about his theory that the Syrians and Armenians *always* had 14 odes which later on became reduced to 9 odes through hagiopolite influence (i.e. St. Sabas) via Byzantium. I do believe that we have to investigate anew the number of canticles, keeping in mind what meaning was originally attached to them, and for what purpose these canticles were used in the office. This perhaps will clarify why and how the OT canticles shifted in position within the offices from the cathedral vigil[65] to either the night or

[62] Cf. notes 7-8.

[63] The canticles were replaced by hymns (*cf. infra*).

[64] Cf. Schneider, "Oden". The author was particularly interested in the question of the number of the canticles and the problem of the different versions of Dan 3, but he also included liturgical data. Mearns (*The Canticles*) listed the canticles attached to the psalters of East and West, and Baumstark's various publications investigated the canticles from a liturgical point of view. Hac'uni's survey (p. 143, 147-161, 166, 180-181, 183-184, 190-191, 197, 217-218 etc.) on the canticles has to be used with great caution. His main importance lies in the valuable indications of Armenian sources.

[65] With cathedral vigil the synaxis of the faithful at the early morning of Sundays is meant. It commemorates the resurrection of Christ. Hence its name: vigil of the resurrection, office of the myrrhbearing women (*myrophores*) etc.; cf. Mateos, "Egérie".

morning office. The problem about the interrelationship between the original context of the canticles, their number and their varying place in the cathedral vigil, and the monastic night office or the morning synaxis, have not been adequately solved. It seems that the Armenian and East-Syrian evidence will shed new light on this difficult issue.

1. *The Armenian terminology, its first occurrence and present usage*

We find the earliest Armenian reference to an OT canticle — referred to as *օրհնութիւն* (*benediction, praise, canticle*) — in the Armenian Lectionary of the first half of the 5th century. *Օրհնութիւն* with the meaning of canticus occurs twice, both times referring to the canticle of Dan 3 in connection with the OT readings at the vigil of Easter and Epiphany[66]. In the Easter vigil the 12th and last reading is Dan 3, 1-35ᵃ, followed by the canticle of Dan 3: "While the *canticle* (*աւրհնութիւնն*) is sung[67] at midnight ..."[68]. At the vigil of Epiphany the indication is quite similar: The 11th and last reading is again Dan 3, 1-35ᵃ, then the canticle is sung: "While they sing[69] the *canticle* (*աւրհնութիւնն*)[70] ... Yet very likely not only was Dan 3 considered a canticle, but also the canticus of Moses, Ex 15, 1ff, which follows the reading of Exodus 14, 24ff[71], because it is explicitly said that the first verse of Ex 15 should be used as *responsory* (*կցուրդ*)[72].

In the present Armenian horologion the cantica of Ex 15 and Dan 3 are also called *օրհնութիւն*[73]. Moreover the canticle of Zachariah (Lk 1, 68ff.) is referred to as *օրհնութիւն*, whereas the Magnificat is

[66] The vigil of Epiphany is patterned after the Easter vigil.

[67] *ասի* (lit.: *is said*) undoubtedly has here the meaning of "is sung". Also in the Byzantine liturgy λέγει often has the meaning of "he sings".

[68] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 306.

[69] *ասեն* has here the meaning of "they sing"; cf. note 67.

[70] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 214. Renoux renders *աւրհնութիւնն* both times with *hymne* (p. 214, 306). It would be better, however, to translate it with *cantique*, distinguishing thus the biblical canticle (*աւրհնութիւնն*) from the *troparion* (*շարական*), which later on replaced the biblical odes (*cf. infra*).

[71] Ex 14 is the 5th reading of Easter according to the Armenian Lectionary (cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 300). Also GRIGOR ARSARUNI *Մեկնութիւն ընթերցուածոց* [*Commentary on the Lectionary*] (Venice 1964), p. 200-201] gives this passage as the 5th reading, and not as the 6th as Baumstark erroneously indicated in his *Comparative Liturgy*, p. 35. It is the 6th reading in the Byzantine rite: cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 329; A. KNIAZEFF, "La lecture de l'ancien et du nouveau testament dans le rite byzantin", *La prière des heures* (= Lex Orandi 35, Paris 1963), p. 218.

[72] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 300.

[73] Cf. *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 127, 218.

called երգ (*chant*) and the canticle of Simeon աղօթք (*prayer*)[74]. Is this difference in terminology significant or irrelevant? At first glance the reason for this differentiation seems a rather simple one : Whenever the incipit of a canticle consists of the verb օրհնեմ, then the canticle is called օրհնութիւն. The canticle of Ex 15,1 for example begins with օրհնեսցուք ...., Dan 3,26ff. and 3,52ff. (= the canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths) with օրհնեալ ես ..., and the canticle of Zachariah (Lk 1,68ff) with օրհնեալ տէր ···, whereas the Magnificat (Lk 1,46ff) starts with մեծացուցէ ··· and the canticle of Simeon (Lk 2,29ff) with արդ' արձակես [75] ... Yet there could be some profounder reason for the consistency of calling the *OT* canticles օրհնութիւն and the inconsistency in terminology with regard to the *NT* canticles. It seems as if there is a certain tendency to reserve the term for the *OT* cantica which perhaps is directly correlated with the history of the inclusion of the canticles in the Christian East : originally only OT cantica formed part of the office, the NT canticles were inserted later. The East-Syrians, for example, have no NT canticles, and very likely also the Armenians once used only the cantica from the OT.

Another reference in the Armenian horologion deserves some attention. The heading for the Gloria in excelsis is : օրհնութիւն առաւօտու [76], which can be rendered either as *praise of the morning* or *canticle of the morning*. In the later West-Syrian appendices to the psalter the Gloria in excelsis is often listed among the NT canticles[77]. Thus the presence of the term in the Armenian Horologion could point to some connections with the later West-Syrian office. Yet this agreement between the West-Syrians and the Armenians should perhaps not be overrated. Moreover it is probably better to render օրհնութիւն առաւօտու in this context by *praise of the morning*.

From what we have seen so far we can conclude that the Armenian term օրհնութիւն refers to the biblical odes. The OT cantica are invariably named օրհնութիւն, and only with the NT canticles do we observe some inconsistency. There is thus a tendency to reserve օրհնութիւն for the odes of the OT. This tendency points perhaps to the origins of the biblical odes in the context of the office in the Christian East : originally only OT canticles were used in the night and morning offices.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 235, 237.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 127, 218, 235-237.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 279.
[77] For the Syriac tradition cf. MEARNS, *The Canticles*, p. 28, 44-46; cf. *infra*, note 159.

2. *The evolution of the use of the canticles in the offices of the second half of the night till morning*

Schneider has convincingly demonstrated that the *OT* canticles were originally imbedded in the OT readings of the Easter vigil[78]. He has also shown that the use of *NT* canticles in the night and morning office is of a later date[79]. What has not been investigated so far is how these biblical odes apparently moved first from the Easter vigil to the cathedral vigil on Sunday morning and then into the daily offices of either the night or the morning. In order to clarify the presence of the OT cantica in connection with the monastic psalmody in the Armenian night office (and some NT canticles in the morning office) it is necessary to briefly unfold the process of integrating the cantica into the offices of the second half of the night till the morning.

The custom of singing OT canticles in the context of the Easter celebration is very old[80]. From an Easter homily by Melito of Sardis (2nd cent.) we know that part of Exodus was read during the celebration of the Lord's resurrection[81]. Hippolytus (3rd cent.) tells us that the canticle of Moses is chanted, and Athanasius mentions that Dan 3 is read and the canticle of the Three Youths sung after the reading[82]. Probably soon other canticles also, for example the other canticle of Moses (Deut 32), were chanted during the solemn celebration of the feast of resurrection[83]. It seems then that from the second century onward some OT odes were used for the yearly anamnesis of the Lord's resurrection[84]. The Easter vigil thus appears as the original *Sitz im Leben* of the biblical odes[85] which were chanted *in connection with the OT readings*[86]. The original function of these OT cantica was to solemnize the anamnetic character of the feast of Easter. Given the original paschal character of the OT odes it is not surprising to see

[78] Schneider, "Oden", p. 37-42; see also Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 175.

[79] Schneider, "Oden", p. 48ff, 52. The Magnificat, for example, is attested for the first time in a Western source of the 5th cent. The canticle of Simeon (*Nunc dimittis*) occurs in vespers for the first time in the Apostolic Constitutions VII, 48, 4; Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, p. 36.

[80] Cf. Schneider, "Oden", p. 30ff.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 41; see also Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 175, 183.

[86] Cf. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 175 and 58f.

that these odes also found their way into the other commemoration of the Lord's resurrection, namely the cathedral vigil of Sunday morning *where the odes are also connected with the reading material.* Through the famous witness of Egeria, a pilgrim nun from the West who visited the holy places of Jerusalem, we know that in the second half of the 4th century the feast of resurrection was commemorated every Sunday morning with a special vigil[87]. The main part of this service consisted of 3 canticles or psalms[88], the burning of incense, combined with the reading of the (passion and) resurrection. Mateos persuasively interpreted the 3 canticles or psalms as representing the 3 days of Christ in the tomb, and the burning of incense as referring to the *myrophores* who went to the tomb early in the morning[89]. This "resurrection office" which originated in Jerusalem very soon spread throughout Christendom, and the Armenians also integrated this cathedral vigil into their office. Now it forms the first part of their Sunday morning office. The title of the Armenian morning office clearly refers to its Easter character: *Ordo of the common prayer of the morning time which is celebrated with regard to the Son of God who appeared to the myrrhbearing* [*women*] (*կարգաւորութիւն Հասարակաց աղօթից առաւօտու ժամուն, որ կատարի ի դէմս Որդւոյն Աստուծոյ, որ երեւ-եցաւ իւղաբերիցն*) and slightly later right before the reading of the gospel of resurrection again: *Chant of the gospel of the myrrhbearing* [*women*] (*երգ իւղաբերից աւետարանին*) [90].

The various rites apparently integrated the OT canticles of the Easter vigil into this other commemorative vigil which was celebrated every Sunday very early in the morning[91], sometimes substituting for the OT canticles 3 psalms. We can hypothetically say: *as the OT odes of the yearly Easter vigil were closely associated with the paschal reading material, so likewise did the OT canticles of the Sunday morning vigil become closely connected with the reading of the gospel of resurrection.* The OT canticles served in both cases — in the yearly celebration of the resurrection as also in the office of the *myrophores* of every

[87] Cf. Mateos, "Egérie", p. 289ff, 296ff.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 289: *Le mot psalmi ... est l'équivalent de ymni, et peut s'appliquer autant à des psaumes qu'à des cantiques scripturaires.*

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 289-292, 296-299.

[90] Cf. *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 217, 244.

[91] Cf. Mateos, "Égérie", p. 302-310 (especially p. 307).

Sunday morning — to highlight the paschal character of these two vigils.

Yet before very long these OT canticles moved from the *yearly* Easter vigil and *weekly* resurrection vigil every Sunday to the *daily* office of either the night or the morning. In this process, however, the canticles slowly lost their original anamnetic function, and also new canticles, and in particular those of the NT, which had nothing to do with the theme of resurrection, were added to the OT canticles (which probably consisted of the canticles of Moses [Ex 15], of Azarias, and the Three Youths [Dan 3])[92]. Thus the canticles were slowly removed from their original context, the *paschal reading material*, and predominantly attached to the monastic psalmody of the night, but also divided between the night and morning office. This shift of the canticles is intimately connected with the disintegration of the cathedral vigil of resurrection. Once the very centre of this vigil, the gospel reading, was dropped, then the canticles moved either to the night and / or morning office. But there was another factor which became crucial in this shift of the canticles, and that was the combined office on Sundays (of the night, the vigil and the morning) as we will see. Let us summarize in a chart what we have said so far.

THEORY ON THE SHIFT IN PLACE OF THE OT CANTICLES

Original *Sitz im Leben* of the canticles
in the *yearly* EASTER VIGIL :
— OT canticles commemorate
the mystery of Pascha *every year*
— the canticles are closely connected
with the *OT reading*

↓

in the *weekly* CATHEDRAL VIGIL
OF RESURRECTION ON SUNDAYS :
— OT canticles reflect
the mystery of Pascha *every Sunday*
— the 3 canticles are sung in connection
with the *gospel of resurrection*

↓

[92] For the peculiarities of Dan 3 *cf. infra.*

in the *daily* NIGHT OR MORNING OFFICE:
— the canticles lose their original purpose,
  i.e. the Easter anamnesis
— they are now attached to the psalmody (of the night)
  i.e. as conclusion of the *psalmodia currens*
— or beginning of the morning office
— additional canticles are added (including those of the NT)

The following questions and considerations arise from this hypothesis:
1. What facilitated the process of shifting the canticles to either the night or morning office?
2. How did the different rites (cf. East and West) follow this general pattern?
3. The problem of the number of canticles is secondary and subordinated to this general evolution. Hence we cannot begin with the question of how many canticles originally existed. Once the canticles moved to the *daily* office, the number of the canticles became expanded, and NT canticles also were added then.

The process of shifting the canticles from the cathedral vigil either to the monastic night or morning office was facilitated by the widespread custom of joining the night office to the morning synaxis. Thus on Sundays the vigil of the second half of the night till the morning consists of: 1. the office of the night, 2. the cathedral vigil of hagiopolite origin, 3. the morning office[93]. These offices, which differ considerably from each other in character and purpose, were often joined together. The night office is a monastic synaxis, its main content is the recitation of the *psalms in numerical order*[94]. The resurrection office is a cathedral vigil, its core comprises *3 psalms* or *3 canticles* combined with the *gospel of resurrection*[95], and the morning office consists of *selected psalms* which include ps 50 or 62 (or both) and pss 148-150 with the Gloria in excelsis[96].

[93] This is the case with the Armenians as the 7th-8th cent. evidence of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i indirectly proves: the canticle Dan 3 is sung in the daily morning office (*առաւօտեան*); only on Sundays is this OT canticle followed by the Magnificat. In Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i these two canticles of the *morning* office are on Sundays listed among the *night* office (*գիշերային*), together with other elements which are characteristic for the morning synaxis like pss 50 + 148-150 and the Gloria in excelsis; cf. Ōjnec'i, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 85-86; Siwnec'i, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) II, p. 409-410. For the Byzantine and Syrian rite cf. J. MATEOS, "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin", *Proche Orient Chrétien* 11 (1961), p. (17-35) 201-220; IDEM, *Lelya-Sapra*; IDEM, "Les matines".

[94] A good study of the origins is provided by MATEOS, "Athanase".

[95] Cf. MATEOS, "Egérie", p. 288-292, 296, 302-310.

[96] Cf. the following contributions of MATEOS, "L'office divin": *Lelya-Sapra*; "Les matines", and "Quelques problèmes".

Here is a chart of the respective offices with their proper names in the Armenian, Syrian, and Byzantine rite, including also the main content of these offices which are often joined together :

Sunday office :	ARMENIA	(EAST-) SYRIA	BYZANTIUM[97]	main content :
night office joined with	*գիշերային*	*lelya*	μεσονυκτικόν	monastic psalmody
cathedral vigil and the	*իւղաբերից*[98]	*qale d-šahra*[99]	resurrection-office[100]	3 canticles (or 3 pss) gospel of resurrection
morning office	*առաւօտեան*(proper)	*ṣapra*	ὄρθρος (proper)	pss 50 (62), 148-150 Gloria in excelsis[101]

The canticles which originally belonged to the lesson of the cathedral vigil with its paschal character could, in a combined office, move easily either to the night office, becoming thus attached to the monastic psalmody (as was very often the case), or shift to the opening of the morning office, or even be divided between the night and morning office once the cathedral vigil of resurrection disintegrated. Once this step was taken, it then became easy to increase the number of canticles, as for the example the Byzantines did : they augmented the canticles to 9 odes (3 + 3 + 3), placing them after the gospel[102], whereas the

[97] The so-called *orthros* of Sundays consists of the old midnight office, the cathedral vigil, and *orthros* proper; cf. MATEOS, "Quelques problèmes", p. 201-220.

[98] Lit. : [*office*] *of the myrophores* which now forms part of *առաւօտեան* (*morning office*); cf. *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 217-256.

[99] Lit. : *chants of the vigil*; for a study cf. MATEOS, "Les matines"; IDEM, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 423-431.

[100] No special name is given to this part of the office; for a study cf. MATEOS, "Quelques problèmes", p. 201-220.

[101] The Chaldeans place ps 50 after pss 148-150; cf. MATEOS, "L'office divin", p. 265; *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 392-393 (on feasts is ps 50 omitted).

[102] For the various combinations of the odes and the gospel in the Byzantine tradition cf. MATEOS, "Quelques problèmes", p. 212-215; G. BERTONIÈRE, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (= Orientalia Chr. Analecta 193, Rome 1972), p. 77-78; R. ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems* (= Liturgiewiss. Quellen u. Forschungen 48, Münster 1968), p. 120, 125-127. For a comparison with the Syriac tradition (in particular Tikrit) cf. MATEOS, "Les matines", p. 70-71. For the canticles in the Byzantine Office see also O. STRUNK, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9-10 (1955-1956), p. 175-202; L. BERNHARD, "Der Ausfall der 2. Ode im Byzantinischen Neunodenkanon" in : Th. MICHELS (ed.), *Heuresis. Festschrift für A. Rohracher* (Salzburg 1969), p. 91-101; J. MATEOS, "*Notulae : Cantica s. Scripturae in matutino (orthros) byzantino*" (Oriental Institute, Rome, undated).

East-Syrians retained 3 OT canticles, attaching them to the monastic psalmody of *lelya* to form the last *hullala* (21)[103]. What the Armenians did is very interesting. First of all they preserved the cathedral vigil in its pristine paschal character, and only with the canticles can we observe some secondary developments. At the end of the 7th century they still seem to have kept 3 canticles, but the first canticle had become attached to the monastic psalmody of the night and *varied* with the variable canon of psalms each night. Thus eventually several canticles were used, but the combined Sunday office (night office, vigil of resurrection, morning office) still retained 3 canticles altogether: 1 *variable* ode joined to each canon of the monastic psalmody in *գիշերային* (*night office*), 2 *fixed* canticles before the gospel of resurrection[104]. However, the original paschal character of the canticles was lost when the Armenians integrated a NT canticle, the Magnificat[105], and later on even the canticles of Zachariah and Simeon, forming thus a new triad of NT canticles over against the much older triad of OT odes. In a new chart the distribution of the canticles in the combined office of Sunday would look like this:

combined Sunday office:	ARMENIA	EAST-SYRIA	BYZANTIUM
night office	monastic psalmody: 1 *kanon* of pss + 1 variable canticle	monastic psalmody + 3 OT canticles	monastic psalmody —
cathedral vigil	2 fixed canticles + gospel of resurrection	(gospel suppressed)[106]	3 pss + gospel of resurrection
morning office	pss of the morning	pss of the morning	ps 50 9 odes (3 + 3 + 3) pss 148-150

[103] The East-Syrian psalter consists of 20 *hullale* (*cf. supra*) to which they have added 3 OT canticles as a last *hullala* (by Mateos referred to as *hullala 21*); cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 31-32, 121-123, 137, 182-183, 230, 236, 338, 400, 403, 404, 414, 424-425, 434-435, 456.

[104] Cf. G. WINKLER, "Zur Geschichte des armenischen Gottesdienstes im Hinblick auf den in mehreren Wellen erfolgten griechischen Einfluss", *Oriens Christianus* 58 (1974), p. 167-169; MATEOS, "Egérie", p. 303, 307; IDEM, "Quelques problèmes", p. 217-218.

[105] Cf. text to note 158.

[106] The gospel reading is still preserved for example in the vigil of Good Friday (the cathedral vigil is hidden in the 3rd *mawtba*): cf. MATEOS, "Les différentes espèces de vigiles dans le rite chaldéen", *Orientalia Chr. Periodica* 27 (1961), p. 58-59; IDEM, "Egérie", p. 303; IDEM, "Les matines", p. 70-71.

This structural outline will now make it easier to follow the description of the probable historical development of this process in the East-Syrian, Armenian, and Byzantine Sunday office. Since the canticles formed an essential part of the Easter anamnesis at the cathedral vigil on Sunday morning we could say with good reason that the shift in place of the odes also mirrors to some extent the disintegration of the cathedral vigil with its paschal character.

The use of the canticles in the East-Syrian office of qale d-šahra *and* lelya

From a 9th cent. commentary, erroneously attributed to Giwargis of Arbela[107], we know that the cathedral vigil (*qale d-šahra*) originally consisted of 3 canticles[108]: Ex 15: 1-20, Deut 32: 1-43, and Is 42: 10-13 + 45: 8[109] which now form the last hullala. These canticles were divided into 3 *marmyata*[110], thus referring to the older division of the psalms into *marmyata*[111]. Since the OT canticles form the very core of the Easter vigil, it is obvious that the structure of *qale d-šahra* with its 3 canticles derives from the Easter vigil[112].

Already at the time of Pseudo-Giwargis there was a tendency to attach the 3 canticles to the monastic psalmody of *lelya* (night office). Thus the 3 odes form the last *marmita* of the psalter (later called *hullala* [21])[113]. On high feasts the entire psalter was recited during

[107] Cf. ed. of CONNOLLY, *Expositio*; for the dating of the document I follow S.Y.H. JAMMO, *La structure de la messe chaldéenne du début jusqu'à l'anaphore. Etude historique* (= Orientalia Chr. Analecta 207, Rome 1979), p. 49-50.

[108] Cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 31-32, 424, 431 (see also 400, 404, 434). Pseudo-Giwargis mentions several times the structure of *qale d-šahra* whereby he also alludes to the 3 canticles; cf. MATEOS, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 424-425, 431 (n. 2). Perhaps Dan 3 was once the third canticle and not the passages of Isaiah, *cf. infra*. Is 42:10-13 + 45:8 is characteristic for the Syriac tradition (cf. BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 181; IDEM, *Festbrevier*, p. 34), the Byzantines do not use this canticle, whereas the Armenians took it over through Syrian influence, attaching it to *kanon* 7 of the *psalmodia currens* in the night office, *cf. supra*.

[110] The first *marmita* consists of Ex 15:1-20 combined with Is 42:10-13 + 45:8, the second *marmita* of Deut 32:1-21^{b}, and the third *marmita* of Deut 32:21^{c}-43. Each canticle has a *qanona* (*responsorium*) which seems to be very old; cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 31-32, 398-400, 414, 424-425.

[111] Previously the psalter was divided into 10 *marmyata*, then into 10 *hullale*, whereby the canticles form the last *hullala* which Mateos calls *hullala 21*; cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 123, 410-411.

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 230, 414, 424.

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 31-32.

lelya, concluding with *hullala* 21 which was sung more solemnly by interspersing the canticles with responsories (*qanone*)[114]. Moreover the 3 canticles were sung upon the bema[115] which also points to the fact that this last *hullala* originally belonged to *qale d-šahra*[116]. During the 9th century the gospel of resurrection was no longer read after the 3 odes. Thus only the 3 odes are still poiting toward the Easter character of *qale d-šahra*. Once the resurrection gospel was no longer read during *qale d-šahra* and the canticles were appended as the last *hullala* [21] to the other *hullale* (sections) of the psalter, this obviously reflected the total disintegration of the original *qale d-šahra*. The previously independent cathedral vigil thus became incorporated into the monastic office of the night (*lelya*) of which it now formed the last part[117]. I give the structure of the Sunday office (and that of great feasts) in a chart which may help to show more clearly the tendency to detach the 3 canticles from *qale d-šahra* and append them to the monastic psalmody of *lelya*.

LELYA, QALE D-ŠAHRA, AND *SAPRA* AROUND THE 9TH CENTURY[118]

older structure[119]	later structure[120] (already present in Pseudo-Giwargis)
I. *LELYA* monastic psalmody: variable *hullale*	I. *LELYA* [+ II. *qale d-šahra*] monastic psalmody: variable *hullale* and *hullala* 21: 3 canticles[121]
II. *QALE D-ŠAHRA* *hullala* 21: 3 canticles [the Gospel of resurrection is no longer read][122]	[the Gospel of resurrection is no longer read]

followed by

III. *SAPRA*

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 123, 403-404 (see also p. 31-32, 357).

[115] Cf. R. TAFT, "Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions", *Orientalia Chr. Pariodica* 34 (1968), p. 326-359.

[116] Cf. note 114.

[117] Cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 424.

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 395ff, 403-406.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 424, 431 (see also p. 404, 434); Pseudo-Giwargis alludes to this structure several times; cf. MATEOS, *op. cit.*, p. 400, 414.

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 391, 403-404, 410, 412-413, 424-425.

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 391 (n. 6), 403-404.

[122] Cf. note 106.

The use of the canticles in the Armenian Sunday vigil (*գիշերային, իւղաբերից, առաւօտեան*)

The Armenians went a different way than the East-Syrians in regard to the cathedral resurrection office (*իւղաբերից*) with its canticles. In contrast to the East-Syrians they kept the cathedral vigil with its central gospel reading, connecting it with the morning office. The Armenians preserved the hagiopolite cathedral vigil in its purest form, which is tangibly visible in the gospel reading of the burial and resurrection of Christ and the general paschal character of this office of the *myrophores* (*իւղաբերից*). In the printed horologion the major part of the office of the *myrophores* became integrated into the morning office (*առաւօտեան*), forming the first part of this office[123].

Concerning the canticles, one variable canticle was attached to the varying group of psalms of the monastic night office (*գիշերային*), whereas the 2 other canticles (eventually more than two) remained linked with the resurrection office with which the morning synaxis (*առաւօտեան*) still begins on Sundays. This development was greatly facilitated by the fact that the three different offices (monastic night office, cathedral vigil, morning office) were celebrated together on Sundays. During the 7th-8th century the Armenians kept on Sundays a vigil probably of the second half of the night[124], which included

[123] Even the ferial morning office (*առաւօտեան*) came under the influence of the cathedral vigil as is demonstrated with 1.) the very title of the morning office (*Ordo of the common prayer of the morning time which is celebrated with regard to the Son of God, who appeared to the myrophores* [*իւղաբերից*]), and 2.) with the presence of the canticle Dan 3:26-88 which opens every morning synaxis; cf. *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 217, 224.

[124] And not of the *entire* night, despite the fact that Ōjnec'i urges the Armenians in two different documents to keep a vigil of the entire night from Saturday evening till Sunday morning (cf. "*Ատենաբանութիւն*" [Oratio Synodalis] chapt. X and "*Վասն ... միաշաբաթին*" [= About ... Sunday] in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 16-18, 108-106). The 10th chapt. of the *Oratio Synodalis* has the following heading: *That it is proper to perform on Sunday the vigil service* [*ցայգապաշտօն*]: cf. *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 8. The word *ցայգապաշտօն* consists of the preposition *ց-* (= "to", "as far", "till") and the composite noun *այգ* ("dawn", "day-break") and *պաշտօն* ("service", "office"). Hence its literal translation is [*nocturnal*] *service till dawn*. The term occurs only once and is reserved for the Sunday vigil. Hac'uni (p. 37ff) gives a useful survey on the different names for the offices, listing also the Armenian writers where the various terms occur. He does not mention *ցայգապաշտօն*, however. Here is the relevant passage in the *Oratio Synodalis* (X): ... *It is proper to honour this day* [*i.e. Sunday*] *not only with the Christian eucharist and a variety of food and untroubled rest, but it is also necessary to accompany the night* (*գիշեր*) *with prayer, giving it the very first rank.*

the monastic office of the night (*գիշերային*), the cathedral vigil (*իւղաբերից*) with its solemn anamnesis of the resurrection, and the synaxis of the morning (*առաւօտեան*). Once these three offices were joined together on Sundays, this vigil was simply called by the name with which the entire gathering began, namely *գիշերային* (*night office*), because this vigil began when it was still night. Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i include typical morning elements (such as pss 50 + 148-150, Gloria

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For this night which dawns toward Sunday became the time of ... Christ's resurrection ... and because of this is it proper to hope for [it] and expect [it] from Saturday evening till the dawn of Sunday ... (cf. Մատենագրութիւնք, p. 16). Then Ōjnec'i continues his exhortation by quoting Mt 24:42 (cf. 25:13) and 26:41, including also Lk 12:35-37 and Jesus' own practice of praying throughout the night (*ibid.*, p. 17-18). In another document of Ōjnec'i (*About ... Sunday*) we find the same admonition: ... *it is proper for all Christians to hold a vigil and watch* (արթուն եւ զուարթուն լինել) *from Saturday evening till Sunday morning ... For those who desire to pass the entire night, from Saturday evening till Sunday morning, with a vigil* (հսկմամբ) *and with prayers, ... bear the likeness of the incorporeal vigilants ... Still, I do not consider it a small matter to gather evidence for what was said by us. For the inhabitants of Jerusalem celebrate even to the present day the Sunday with a night vigil* (գիշերապաշտութեամբ) *as was commanded them by James, their first patriarch. And I have commanded the same by my [commands] to follow his command, and by apostolic decrees to submit oneself in compliance with the will of God* ... (*ibid.*, p. 102-103). From the Catholicos' writings it is clear that he a.) wished to establish such a vigil, b) that he expected not only the monks, but also the people to participate in this all night service. Yet the strongly exhortative character of his language as also its occurrence in two different documents seem to demonstrate how difficult the task was to have the clergy and the faithful in all parts of Armenia join in such an extensive service on every weekend, and to begin this vigil already on Saturday *evening*. If there had actually existed such an *all* night vigil then one might expect to find at least here and there some allusions to the structure or components of the office of the *first half of the night*, i.e. the service from the evening till midnight. Yet it is a fact that all references to the Sunday vigil, and there are many, *begin* with the night office (գիշերային) and end with the morning synaxis (առաւօտեան) Hence I am inclined to assume that it was actually a vigil of the second half of the night which began with the monastic night office (գիշերային), included the resurrection service (իւղաբերից) and ended with the morning office (առաւօտեան). We may hypothetically conclude that the monks probably gathered for the night office some time around or after midnight and the faithful joined them well before dawn. We know from even much later evidence that the people did participate in such vigils. The British Consul of Smyrna in 1678 (whom we have already quoted, cf. note 60), tells us, for example, that the Armenians perform "most of their public Divine Service ... in the morning before day ... I have been greatly pleased to meet hundreds of Armenians ... about sun-rising, returning from ... church, wherein perhaps they had spent two hours before, not only on festival but on ordinary days of work; in like manner they are very devout on vigils to feasts ..."; cf. RICAUT, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 408. With regard to Ōjnec'i's intention of establishing an all night vigil I would consider the possibility that Ōjnec'i may have been as unsuccessful with this vigil as he was with the practice of the prebaptismal anointing; cf. G. WINKLER, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale* ... (= Orientalia Chr. Analecta 217, Rome 1982), p. 396-401.

in excelsis)[125] in their interpretation of the various parts of the Sunday office, which they call night office (*գիշերային*). This means nothing else but that these offices were celebrated together on Sundays and that this vigil began when it was still dark. It may very well be that the Armenians had joined together these Sunday offices for pratical reasons long before the time of these two famous Armenian hierarchs. There is even the possibility that on Sundays this combined bigil (monastic night office, cathedral resurrection office, and morning office proper) was celebrated as a unified office at a very early period. The ease with which the canticles moved from the cathedral vigil to the end of the night office (and/or the beginning of the morning office) would suggest a rather early fusion of these three offices. I am quite aware that this may entail some far reaching implications for those who follow Mateos in his categorical separation of the night office from the morning synaxis. The history of the interrelationship between the *mid*night office, the all night vigil, the vigil of the second half of the night, and the morning gathering, as also the relationship between the Sunday and ferial office, is still an unsettled issue despite the weighty contributions of such masters in the liturgical field as Baumstark, Mateos, and Hanssens[126]. The Armenian structure of the offices holds great interest since they have preserved the structural transparency of their offices to a considerable extent, if one prescinds from the secondary accumulation of mediaeval hymns. The Armenian Sunday office before the end of the 7th century consisted of the following main elements, probably distributed as follows:

MAIN CONTENT OF THE SUNDAY VIGIL	THESE THREE OFFICES COULD BE JOINED TOGETHER
doxology + invitatory monastic psalmody (*կանոնի սաղմոսաց*)	= *գիշերային* (night office)
3 canticles (*օրհնութիւնք*)[127] gospel of resurrection[128]	= *իւղաբերից* (resurrection vigil)
pss 50 + 148-150 Gloria in excelsis	= *առաւօտեան* (morning office)

[125] Cf. note 93. Also Zenob Glak (7th-8th cent./date is disputed) mentions Dan 3 as being part of the *night* office; cf. HAC'UNI, p. 158.

[126] Cf. also H. Quecke's subtle discussion of the (coptic) night office, vigil, and morning synaxis in his study, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (= Publication de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 3, Louvain 1970), p. 145-191.

[127] We will discuss the number and content of the canticles later on. The present

However, at the time of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i (7th-8th cent.) the structural outline of the Sunday office already shows some significant changes. According to both writers the night office — that is what they call this vigil — consists on Sundays of[129]:

main content	*joined office refered to as* *գիշերային*
doxology[130] + invitatory[131] monastic psalmody *and* 1 canticle (probably variable)[132]	= night office proper
2 (fixed) canticles[133] gospel of resurrection	previously belonging structurally to the cathedral vigil, now 1 canticle is intimately linked with the psalmody
pss 50 + 148-150 Gloria in excelsis[134]	= morning office proper[135]

Armenian horologion has 3 pss after the canticles and before the gospel reading. These 3 psalms have strong paschal overtones. The relationship between the canticles and the 3 psalms requires a separate investigation in greater detail. Here I am touching upon the cathredral and morning office only insofar as is necessary to clarify the historical development of the presence of the canticles in the night office.

[128] The Armenians still read also the burial account together with the resurrection; cf. *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 248ff (= Mk 15:42-16:8), 251ff (= Lk 23:50-24:12), 253ff (= Jn 19:38-20:18); only the first of the gospels is restricted to the resurrection; *ibid.*, p. 245ff (= Mt 28:1-20).

[129] As was said already (cf. notes 93, 125-126), the content of all 3 offices is listed under *գիշերային* (*night office*) in contrast to the printed horologion where the cathedral resurrection office (*իւղաբերից*) forms part of the morning office (*առաւօտեան*).

[130] Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i do not comment on the doxology, but the presence of the doxology can be presupposed; cf. WINKLER, "Armenian Night Office I".

[131] Cf. ŌJNEC'I, "*Կանոն*" (Canon) XXI in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 28; IDEM, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 82-83; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 237, 361-362.

[132] Cf. ŌJNEC'I, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատե—նագրութիւնք*, p. 83-84; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 237, 362-363; II, p. 409.

[133] Cf. ŌJNEC'I, "*Կանոն*" (Canon) XXIV in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 29; IDEM, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 86; IDEM, "*Վասն ... միաշաբաթի*" (About ... Sunday) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 103; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 238, 485, 489; II, p. 135-136, 410.

[134] Cf. ŌJNEC'I, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք* p. 85-87; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 489; II, p. 412.

[135] For the structure of these offices in the present horologion see chart at the end of this article.

So by the end of the 7th century we have seen some important changes concluded :

1. The three offices of Sunday are referred to as one night office (*գիշերային*) although it actually comprises the night office proper (*գիշերային*), the resurrection vigil of the *myrophores* (*իւղաբերից*), and the morning office (*առաւօտեան*) [136]. This vigil was called a night office probably because it began when it was still night.

2. By the end of the 7th century the canticle had already become more closely connected with the monastic psalmody of the night. Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i interpret the 7 groups of psalms (*զորդայք*) of the night office as a symbol of the seven ages of the world and the canticle as a sign of the eighth age of resurrection [137]. Thus the canticles are on one hand still poiting to the Easter anamnesis, which is important since this interpretation still mirrors the original close relationship of the canticles with the resurrection office (*իւղաբերից*). On the other hand the canticle has become explicitly connected with the nightly recitation of the psalms in numerical order [138], which could easily happen in a composite office. That the canticle belongs now structurally to the *psalmodia currens* is proven by the fact that even the *daily* monastic psalmody of the night ends with a canticle. By the end of the seventh century this shift of the canticle, first from the cathedral vigil of Sundays to the psalmody of the sunday night office and then also to the ferial night office, was already completed. We can hypothetically reconstruct this shift without any major difficulty. Once the canticle was understood as forming part of the monastic *psalmodia currens* of the Sunday night office, it must have been tempting to attach a canticle also to the *daily* night office. Moreover, since a different group of psalms was recited every night, one could also vary the canticle and have a different canticle connected with each canon of psalms. This allowed the integration of a greater number of canticles, and thus the various canticles came to be attached to the 8 canons of psalms. Sometimes several shorter canticles were grouped together and then connected with one canon of the *psalmodia currens* [139].

[136] Cf. ŌJNEC'I, "*Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ*" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 85; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 485.

[137] For ŌJNEC'I cf. note 132; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 237, 362-364; II, p. 407-408.

[138] For ŌJNEC'I cf. note 132; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 362; II, p. 407.

[139] As for example Is 42:10-13 + 45:8 + Jonah 2:3-10 which are linked with the 7th canon of psalms (pss 106-118); *cf. supra* survey on canon of pss + canticle.

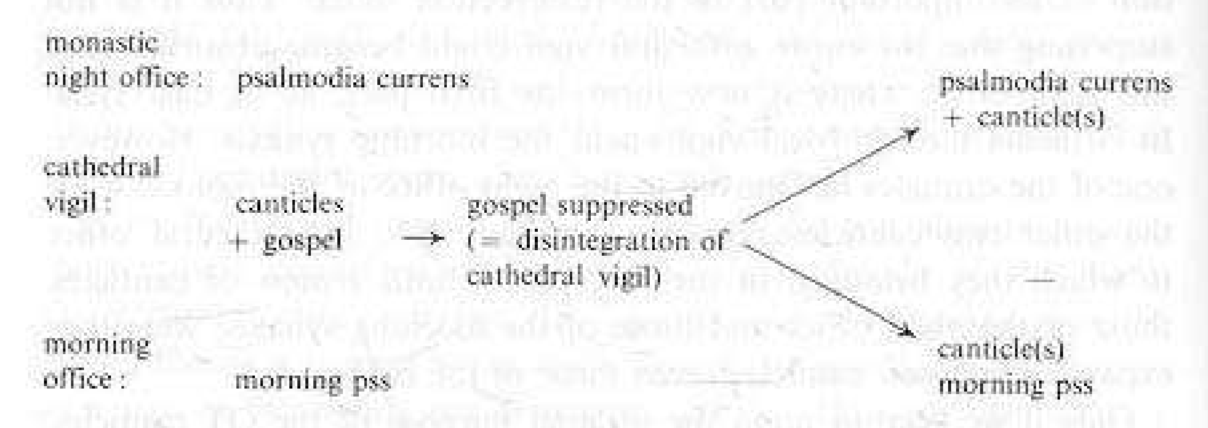
or a lengthy canticle was divided in two[140]. This process of first *shifting* and then *expanding* the number of canticles entailed a certain disintegration of an important part of the resurrection office. Thus it is not surprising that the entire cathedral vigil could become absorbed into the night office where it now forms its final part, as in East-Syria. In Armenia the cathedral vigil opens the morning synaxis. However, one of the canticles has moved to the night office of the monks, while the other two canticles remain connected with the cathedral office to which they belonged in the first place. Both groups of canticles, those of the night office and those of the morning synaxis, were then expanded and new canticles (even those of the NT) added.

Only if we keep in mind the original purpose of the OT canticles, namely to highlight the Easter solemnity, and how they slowly lost their primitive paschal character, will we be able to interpret adequately the development into the greater variety of the cantica in the different offices of the various rites of East and West. In the West also the canticles are the last remnant of the original cathedral resurrection vigil[141]. This hypothesis, which we have explained in detail, has the advantage that it offers a plausible reason for the presence of the canticles first in the resurrection vigil of Sundays, then also in the night and morning offices of Sunday, and eventually also in the daily night and morning synaxis. It seems also that the problem of the greater number and variety of the canticles (which I consider a subordinate one) is best explained by this theory. This process of the *shift* and *increase* of canticles was possible and even facilitated once the Sunday offices (of the second half of the night till morning) were celebrated together, and once the canticle became attached to the varying psalmody of the night office. This in turn lent itself to a greater variety of canticles and the consequent addition of new ones. With the disintegration of the cathedral vigil — in particular once the resurrection gospel was dropped! — the canticles were then attached

[140] Like the canticle of Moses, Deut 32:1-43 which was divided into 32:1-21, in the Armenian night office attached to the 2nd canon of psalms (pss 18-35), and Deut 32:22-43, connected with the 3rd canon of psalms (pss 36-54); *cf. supra* survey on canon of pss + canticle.

[141] Mateos' survey on the survival of the cathedral vigil in the Western tradition (v.g. Ambrosian, Benedictine, and Roman Sunday office) and Baumstark's study of the cantica in *Nocturna Laus* (p. 175-188) seem to confirm my hypothesis; for Mateos, see his article "Egérie", p. 304-310.

to the nightly *psalmodia currens* or/and the morning gathering. A chart may once more illustrate this process more clearly :



Which canticles were original? The problem of Dan 3

So far we have tried to demonstrate the general law which governed the evolution of the inclusion of the canticles in the various offices held from the second half of the night to the morning. We have to come back to the question of which canticles formed part of the various offices.

We have seen already that the canticle of Ex 15:1-20 is first attested for the solemn commemoration of Jesus' resurrection during the Easter night. Very likely Ex 15 : 1-20 is the first and oldest canticle used in the Easter vigil. Once the corpus of lessons for the yearly Easter vigil was expanded[142], then Dan 3 was added to be sung after the reading from Daniel. So Ex 15 and Dan 3 are seemingly the oldest canticles[143]; they are explicitly referred to in the Armenian Lectionary (*cf. supra*)[144]. We have to keep in mind that Dan 3 actually consists of two canticles in the Armenian lectionary : that of Azarias (3 : 26-45) and of the Three Youths (3 : 52-88; the numbering of the verses is that of the Armenian tradition).

[142] For some stimulating reflections about the lessons cf. G. KRETSCHMAR, "Neue Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Ostergottesdienstes I", *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 5 (1960), p. 75-79.

[143] Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 175; see also my notes above : 68, 70, 72, 80, 82.

[144] If we can trust HAC'UNI's indication (p. 158) then P'awstos Buzand (who wrote an important history of the Armenians, covering the period of the 4th cent.) also was familiar with the canticle of Dan 3 (no precise reference is offered by Hac'uni). Hac'uni mentions (at the same page) also the Յաճախապատում (*stromata*) as a witness for Dan 3. This source was erroneously attributed to Gregory the Illuminator.

It can be assumed that the presence of *three* canticles in the East-Syrian *qale d-šahra* (cathedral vigil of Sundays) reflects one of the oldest structures of the canticles in the Sunday commemoration of the resurrection. The East-Syrians never used any canticles other than the 3 OT canticles, which originally formed an essential part of *qale d-šahra* (cathedral vigil), then later became attached to the monastic psalmody of *lelya* (night office). These OT canticles which form the last *hullala* of the recitation of psalms consist of:

Ex 15: 1-21, the Easter canticle par excellence, combined with Is 42:10-13 + 45:8 (a canticle which is characteristic for the Syrians), and Deut 32 which is divided in two because of its length: Deut 32:1-21^{b} and 21^{c}-43.

These 3 canticles constituted 3 *marmyata*:

— Ex 15:1-21 + Is 42:10-13 + 45:8 (= 1st *marmita*)
— Deut 32:1-21^{b} (= 2nd *marmita*)
— Deut 32:21^{c}-43 (= 3rd *marmita*)[145].

This organization and distribution of the cantica certainly does not reflect the original stratum. Two things stand out: 1) the distribution of the canticles seems artificial, 2) the absence of Dan 3. With regard to Dan 3 one could quite rightly object that some variety in the canticles has to be presupposed in the various regions of Christianity. Yet there is reason to assume that Dan 3 may have also been part of the original triad of canticles in the East-Syrian tradition. In order to facilitate the survey of the evidence I shall put the relevant data in a chart (p. 502) and then comment on it.

[145] Cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 31-32, 121-123, 137, 182-183, 404, 414, 424-425 *passim*; BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 176-177.

[146] There are now 3 other canticles in addition to Dan 3, all from the NT: the Magnificat (Lk 1:46-55), the canticle of Zachariah (Lk 1:68-79), and of Simeon (Lk 2:29-32); cf. WINKLER, "Zur Geschichte", p. 169. At the time of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i only the Magnificat was already added; cf. ŌJNEC'I, "Կանոն" (Canon) XXIV in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 29; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 238, 489; II, p. 135-136, 410; *cf. infra*, note 158. An Armenian horologion of Venice from 1898 does not include the canticles of Zachariah and Simeon; cf. A. RENOUX, "Les lectures quadragésimales du rite arménien", *REArm*, N.S. 5 (1968), p. 241 (36). This horologion seemingly derives from a different manuscript tradition than the present *Ժամագիրք*

[147] Cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 392-393; for the verses of Dan 3 cf. BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 176.

[148] Including also some feasts; cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* I, p. XXIII-XXIV; II, p. 83, 93, 111, 309-310.

[149] Cf. MATEOS, "Quelques problèmes", p. 201-220.

[150] For the variety of location of the gospel reading cf. note 102.

[151] Cf. MATEOS, "Quelques problèmes", p. 31-32, 217-218.

PLACE OF CANTICLE (Dan 3) + GOSPEL IN THE SUNDAY MORNING OFFICE

ARMENIA (each Sunday)	EAST-SYRIA (only at Easter: Dan 3 + gospel)[147]	(old) CONSTANTINOPLE (Easter-Pentecost: Dan 3)[148]	(sabaitic) CONSTANTINOPLE (each Sunday)[149]
[NIGHT OFFICE] (գիշերային)			
CATHEDRAL VIGIL: (խաղաղերից) Dan 3:26-45, 52-88[146] gospel		ORTHROS: Dan 3:57-88	ORTHROS: gospel[150]
MORNING OFFICE: (առաւօտեան) pss 50 148-150 Gloria in excelsis	MORNING OFFICE: (sapra) morning pss + 148-150 + 116 Dan 3: 57-91 gospel Gloria in excelsis	pss 50 148-150 Gloria in excelsis gospel	9 canticles[151] pss 148-150 Gloria in excelsis

COMMENTS:

ARMENIA	EAST-SYRIA	(old) CONSTANTINOPLE	(sabaitic) CONSTANTINOPLE
1. Armenia gives the oldest structure 2. general transparency of the sequence of the offices (գիշերային, խաղաղերից, առաւօտեան) is maintained 3. original sequence + unity of canticle + gospel is preserved (obscured only through additional secondary canticles of the NT) 4. Dan 3 + gospel form main element of cathedral vigil.	1. the main elements of the cathedral vigil (canticle + gospel) are misplaced and artificially inserted between the pss 148-150 (+ 116) and the Gloria in excelsis 2. the original unity of canticle + gospel is preserved.	1. Dan 3 still is in its old place (between the night office and the elements of orthros proper) 2. the original unity between Dan 3 + gospel is lost 3. the gospel is placed at the end of the morning office	1. the gospel of resurrection still is on its original place (between the mesonyktikon and the ele-elements of orthros proper) 2. the secondary formation of 9 canticles (3 + 3 + 3) obscures the original connection of the canticle with the gospel 3. the 9 canticles are artificially inserted between ps 50 and 148-150.

146-151: see these notes p. 501.

General conclusions about Dan 3

1. The presence of Dan 3 in three different rites is significant, as it is also significant that in two rites Dan 3 still is closely connected with the gospel reading.

2. From this evidence we can infer that Dan 3 belongs to the oldest canticles used in the resurrection office in conjunction with the reading of the gospel (cf. Armenian testimony). Its presence in the morning office (*ṣapra*, *orthros*, but also *aṙawōtean*) is a secondary development, closely connected with the disintegration of the cathedral resurrection vigil.

3. The Easter character of Dan 3 is demonstrated moreover by the fact that in the East-Syrian and (old) Constantinopolitan office the use of this canticle is restricted by and large to Easter time[152]. Dan 3 obviously was considered a festal chant and thus is absent in their ordinary daily morning office. Since the Armenians have preserved the cathedral resurrection vigil in its purest form, it is not surprising to see Dan 3 in every Sunday office of the *myrophores* (*իւղաբերից*). Through the influence of this resurrection office Dan 3 became part of the ferial morning office also (cf. chart on the evolution of the Armenian office at the end of this article). This is a secondary development.

4. With the disintegration of the cathedral vigil in all Christian churches, the canticle moved to the morning office. Its place at the very beginning of the office, however, still points to the original location of the gospel, as for example in the (old) Constantinopolitan orthros, whereas in the sabaitic tradition only the gospel still indicates the original place of the canticle.

The relationship between Dan 3 and the other canticles

Since Dan 3 is present in three different rites in a paschal context[153] and related to the reading of the gospel, it can legitimately be concluded that Dan 3 is one of the oldest canticles, used to highlight the anamnesis

[152] In Constantinople Dan 3 is also sung on some other high feasts; cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* I, p. XXIII, 5; II, p. 9, 63, 67, 83.

[153] In the (old) Constantinopolitan and East-Syrian morning office Dan 3 is predominantly reserved for Easter time. For Armenia cf. note 123 and chart at the end of this article.

of the resurrection in the cathedral vigil. We may also assume that Dan 3 formed part of the original triad of canticles in the East-Syrian *qale d-šahra* (cathedral Sunday vigil), which probably comprised Ex 15:1-21, Deut 32:1-43, and Dan 3:57-91. The canticle of Is 42:10-13 + 45:8 is apparently a later addition, peculiar to the Syrians[154].

The East-Syrians attached 3 canticles (in their *later* form consisting of: Ex 15, Deut 32, and Is 42:10-13 + 45:8) as a unit to their psalmody of *lelya* (*night office*), whereas the old canticle, Dan 3, was kept for the festive morning office. The Armenians joined only one (variable) canticle to each canon of the variable *psalmodia currens* of the night office. Which are then the other two canticles in the original cathedral vigil of Armenia? One obviously is Dan 3. But where is the other canticle? Armenia's canticle from Dan 3 is extremely long, more so than in any other rite[155]. It extends from verses *26* - 88, whereas in the (old) Constantinopolitan orthros Dan 3 is limited verses *57* - 88 and in East-Syria to *57* - 91 (*cf. supra*: chart on Dan 3 + gospel). Armenian Dan 3 actually consists of *two* canticles: the ode of *Azarias* (Dan 3:*26*-45) and the canticle of the *Three Youths* (Dan 3:52-88)[156]. Hence the 3 canticles of the original Armenian cathedral vigil were very likely the canticle of Moses (Ex 15:1-19), the canticle of Azarias (Dan 3:26-45), and the canticle of the Three Youths (Dan 52-88).

In support of our theory we can refer to the Armenian Lectionary which reflects not only the Jerusalem liturgy of the early 5th century, but also its amalgamation with Armenia's own tradition, as the evolution of the Armenian troparion (*շարական*) in the Lectionary indicates (cf. next chapter). In the Armenian Lectionary we find in the Easter vigil the same three canticles (*օրհնութիւնք*) of Moses (Ex 15), and the cantica of Azarias (Dan 3:26ff) and the Three Youths (Dan 3:52ff)[157] which are both imbedded in the reading of Dan 3 (cf. next chapter). This would prove once more *to what extent the Armenian cathedral vigil of resurrection*, i.e. the *իւղաբերից* (*myrophores*) office, *has retained*

[154] Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 181; IDEM, *Festbrevier*, p. 34; *cf. supra* note 109.

[155] Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 180.

[156] Both canticles have a very similar incipit; the canticle of Azarias begins with: *Օրհնեալ ես տէր աստուած հարցն մերոց* (= Dan 3:26) from which the canticle of the Three Youths differs only very little: *Օրհնեալ ես դու տէր աստուած հարցն մերոց* (= 3:52); cf. *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 218,221.

[157] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 304/305 (n. 22), 307 (n. 23); see also my next chapt. on the evolution of the troparia.

its pristine paschal character, pointing at the same time to its original model, the hagiopolite vigil with its paschal reading and 3 canticles.

Armenia is not the only country where this resurrection office was adopted through the influence of Jerusalem. We find this Sunday vigil with its Easter anamnesis in all Christian traditions. Yet the magnificent structure of this edifice collapsed under the weight of other influences, and what we see now in the various rites are only the last remnants, like the canticle of the Three Youths which we find in nearly all nocturnal or morning services; sometimes still connected with the gospel. Whenever we find a canticle before the gospel reading, as for example in the tradition of Tikrit[157a], then it is a vestige of the original cathedral vigil with its combination of the OT canticles and the reading.

The Armenian usage of all christian rites, has preserved this resurrection office to the greatest extent, keeping both, the canticles and the Easter message of the burial and resurrection of Christ. The Armenian Church obscured, however, the original transparency of structure and the meaning of this vigil when she added canticles of the NT to Dan 3, and when she began to model even the ferial morning office after the Sunday office. Already at the time of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i (i.e. by the end of the 7th century) the canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths were sung not only at the beginning of the office of the *myrophores*, but also at the beginning of the ferial morning office. For the Sunday vigil a new canticle, the Magnificat, was added, clearly a secondary development. The lengthy argumentation about the Magnificat in both writers[158] suggests that the NT canticle was a new acquisition whose presence still required justification[159].

[157a] Cf. MATEOS, "Les matines", p. 70-71.

[158] Cf. ŌJNEC'I, "*Կանոն*" (Canon) XXIV in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 29; IDEM, "*Վասն ... միաշաբաթին*" (About ... Sunday) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 103; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 489; II, p. 135-136, 410.

[159] Later the Magnificat was expanded to a triad of *NT* canticles (Magnificat, Zachariah, Simeon, *cf. supra* note 146), perhaps as a counterpart to the much older triad of *OT* canticles (Moses [Ex 15:1ff], Azarias, Three Youths). We find an additional triad of NT canticles also in West-Syria (cf. BAUMSTARK, *Festbrevier*, p. 31-32, 34); they inlude the Magnificat, the Beatitudes (Mt 5:3-13), and the Great Doxology (which developed out of Lk 2:14); *cf. supra*, text to note 77. For the interesting textual variants of the Armenian Magnificat and the canticle of Zachariah cf. ESAPALEAN (= Essabalian), "*Կոչումները*" (The Quotations) II, col. 28-29; IV, col. 342-343 and S. LYONNET, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* (= Biblica et Orientalia 13, Rome 1950), p. 167-171; ŌRMANEAN, p. 258-259.

III. The development of the Troparia (շարականք)
[cf. B III in the structural outline of the office]

In order to understand the process of the evolution of these hymns (շարականք) and their integration into the Armenian office we have to include the history of the Armenian *responsorium*, the կցուրդ. Our knowledge of the historical development of these pieces is extremely fragmentary[160] since neither the կցուրդ nor the շարական have ever been investigated on the basis of comparative liturgy. J. Mateos has clarified the meaning of the Greek and Syriac terminology in regard to the various kinds of psalmody common in Palestine, Constantinople and East-Syria[161]. For the liturgy of Jerusalem during the 5th to 8th century we have the important study of H. Leeb who investigated the nomenclature in the Georgian Lectionary[162]. I shall base my analysis of the terminology in the 5th century Armenian Lectionary on Renoux's edition of this hagiopolite document[163].

[160] The best treatment of both still is in Abelean, p. 500-516. Ter-Mikaëlian does not deal with the կցուրդ at all, and his survey of the evolution of the շարակնոց is predominantly concerned with the discussion of authorship of individual hymns. The origins and earliest development of the շարակնոց (= tropologion, *not* hymnarium) is not explained. Hac'uni refers here and there to the կցուրդ and շարական without however, giving a historical overview. Since he often interprets the Armenian evidence on the basis of the Latin breviary his study does not always reflect the genuine Armenian tradition. Baumstark was the only one to see with penetrating clarity the connections between the responsorial psalmody and the "kanon" : *Nicht minder bedeutungsvoll tritt unsere auf den responsorischen Psalmenvortrag zurückgehende Dichtungsgattung in der armenischen Liturgie hervor* ... (*Festbrevier*, p. 72). For the investigation of the texts of the hymns and the manuscript tradition of Ējmiacin and Venice cf. note 2; valuable material about the later hymns can also be found in the precious catalogues edited by J. Dashian, *Haupt-Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien* I (Vienna 1895), p. 523 ff (= the oldest manuscript of the շարակնոց in the Vienna collection).

[161] Cf. J. Mateos, "La psalmodie : ses genres" in his study, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine. Étude historique* (= Orientalia Chr. Analecta 191, Rome 1971), p. 7-26 and his superb treatment of Greek terminology in his *Typicon* II, p. 279-329, and the Syriac nomenclature in his *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 485-502. See also the helpful contributions of R. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (= Orientalia Chr. Analecta 200, Rome 1978²), p. 83-108, 112-118, and in particular his survey on the antiphonal psalmody in : "The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units : An Essay in Methodology", *Worship* 52 (1978), p. 321-324; Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 124.

[162] H. Leeb, *Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem (vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* [= Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie 28, Vienna 1970].

[163] Cf. Renoux, *Le codex arménien* I and II.

For the discussion of the Armenian evidence we can limit ourselves to a very brief survey of the responsorial and antiphonal psalmody with their respective terms in Greek, Syriac, and Georgian, making use of the valuable studies of Baumstark, Mateos, and Leeb, on the basis of which we shall determine the meaning of the *կցուրդ*. Antiphonal psalmody[164] represents a later form of singing the psalms, developed from the responsorial psalmody. Baumstark suggested that the origins of the antiphons lie in the Aramaic speaking regions of Inner Syria[165].

The refrain in responsorial psalmody is always a psalm verse[166], in contrast to the antiphonal psalmody where the refrain can consist of a non-biblical composition (as it most often does in the East), or the simple alleluia, or a short scriptural phrase[167]. In antiphonal psalmody one (or 2 soloists) sing the psalm verses, and the people, who are divided into two choirs, respond alternately with a refrain[168]. The little doxology (*Gloria patri*) concludes this type of psalmody, in contrast to the responsorial psalmody which ends with a psalm verse[169]. In responsorial psalmody we have to distinguish two ways of executing the responsory. The psalm verse used as a responsory can either be sung in its entirety, or be limited to the last part, a pecularity of Constantinople. In the Hagia Sophia the responsory, which is referred to as προκείμενον, includes only the last part of the psalm verse, in contrast to Palestine where the entire verse is sung as the response which is called ὑπόψαλμα[170].

In antiphonal psalmody the non-scriptural composition, i.e. the liturgical poetry, also has different names in the various rites. In Constantinople it is called *troparion*[171], whereas in Palestine it is referred to as ὑπακοή and στιχός[172]. The East-Syrian equivalents of the *troparion* are the *qanona*, the *ʿonita*, and the *hepakta*[173]. The West-Syrian counterparts to the ὑπακοή are the *ʿenyana* and *qolo* (of incense)[174].

[164] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 13ff; TAFT, "Structural Analysis", p. 321ff.
[165] BAUMSTARK, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 126.
[166] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 7-13; TAFT, "Structural Analysis", p. 322.
[167] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 15.
[168] The *alternating of the refrain* by two choirs, who respond alternately to the soloist, is antiphonal psalmody, not the alternate singing of *psalm verses*; cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 13; TAFT, "Structural Analysis", p. 321-322; LEEB, *Die Gesänge*, p. 220.
[169] Cf. TAFT, *loc. cit.*; MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 7ff.
[170] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 7-13.
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 15, 20.
[172] *Ibid.*, p. 15, 20, 21.
[173] *Ibid.*, p. 15, 24; see also BAUMSTARK, *Festbrevier*, p. 70.
[174] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 20, 24.

The term *troparion* could be adequately rendered by the Italian "*ritornello*". The same is true of the term *hepakta*[175], since the root of ܗܦܟܬܐ is ܗܦܟ (*to turn, to return*). The ὑπακοή as also the (West-Syrian) *'enyana* and the (East-Syrian) *'onita* mean "response". The West-Syrian ܥܢܝܢܐ and the East-Syrian ܥܘܢܝܬܐ derive from the root ܥܢܐ *to answer, to respond*), including also in its derivative forms the connotations of "discourse", "aquaintance", "intimacy", "intercourse".

The Armenian կցուրդ has a similar etymology. Կցուրդ is related to կցորդ (*consort, participant, companion*) and both in turn are related to կից (*united, joined*; կիցք = *union*). The կցորդ[176] or կցուրդ is thus a responsory which is *accompanying* or *joined to* the psalmody[177]. The Armenian nomenclature shows thus some affinity with the Syriac *'enyana* and *'onita*. The idea of "joining", "adding" is also present in the Georgian *dasdebeli*, the poetical strophe with which the psalmody (*p'salmuni*) is interspersed[178].

We also find Greek loanwords in Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian liturgical nomenclature for the psalmody, as for example the Syriac *qanona*[179] (= κανών) and *estikon*[180] (στιχός, στιχηρά). The latter also found its way into Armenia as ստիք, ստիքէրոն, and ստողոգի[181]. Greek loanwords are also clearly present in the Georgian Lectionary in the *ibakoy* and *stik'eroni*[182].

Originally these non-biblical refrains were a subordinate element of the psalmody. With time, however, they assumed an increasing importance and eventually caused the disintegration of the original nucleus, the psalmody. The poetic compositions gradually gained independence from their original context[183]. This was the case with

[175] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[176] This is the orthography in Łazar P'arpec'i, *cf. infra*.

[177] For further discussion *cf. infra*.

[178] Cf. LEEB, *Die Gesänge*, p. 208, 274-275; *passim*.

[179] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 24.

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 15, 21; AČARYAN IV, p. 276.

[181] For the variety in orthography of this loanword and ample discussion of it, cf. AČARYAN IV, p. 275-277; brief reference also in HÜBSCHMANN, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 381.

[182] Cf. LEEB, *Die Gesänge*, p. 157ff, 187-188, 193, 218-221, 223, 275.

[183] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 22-23; A. BAUMSTARK, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (= Ecclesia Orans 10, Freiburg 1923), p. 109; LEEB, *Die Gesänge*, p. 274 (= explanation of *dasdebeli*).

the Armenian hymns (շարականք) of the office, as we shall see[184]. This evolution is reflected in the *hepakta*, *ʿenyana*, and *dasdebeli* on the one hand, and the *ʿonita* and *qolo* on the other. The main element of the *hepakta*, *ʿenyana* and *dasdebeli* is still the psalmody, as the Georgian terminology especially makes evident (*dasdebeli* = *addenda*), whereas the poetry of the *ʿonita* and *qolo* has assumed predominance over the psalmody[185]. The philological analysis of կցորդ/կցուրդ (= *consors*) implies that the Armenians originally understood the responsory as a "companion" and "consort" to the psalmody, keeping thus a subtle balance between the psalmody and its responsory. This brings us to a closer investigation of the original function of the կցուրդ.

1. The history of the կցուրդ

The earliest evidence of the կցուրդ is found in several 5th century documents, for example in the *History* of Łazar Pʿarpecʿi and in the Armenian Lectionary. Let us begin with an investigation of the latter document since it can shed light on Pʿarpecʿi's evidence. The analysis of the usage of the term կցուրդ in the 5th century Armenian Lectionary brought me to the unexpected conclusion that already by the beginning of the 5th century the term կցուրդ does not mean only the responsory of the psalmody, but the non-scriptural refrains of the canticles as well. This may lead to a modification of Mateos' rigid distinction between the psalm responsory, which he reserved for the responsorial psalmody, and the non-scriptural refrain (i.e. the *troparion*, *hypakoe*, *ʿenyana*, *ʿonita*, *hepakta*), which Mateos considered to be restricted to antiphonal psalmody. The Armenian usage of կցուրդ does not allow us to make too sharp a distinction between the կցուրդ with its meaning of a responsory in connection with the psalmody and the կցուրդ as a non-scriptural refrain of the canticles. Later on this non-scriptural poetry will be called շարական (*troparion*), as we will see.

We shall first look at the կցուրդ as a responsory to the psalms, and then at its use for the refrains to the canticles of the Easter vigil.

a. *The կցուրդ as responsory to the psalmody*

Analysing the occurrence of the կցուրդ in the Armenian Lectionary we can summarize our observations in two interrelated statements :

[184] For the Syrian *ʿenyane* cf. the excellent survey of BAUMSTARK, *Festbrevier*, p. 69 ff.
[185] Cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 24; LEEB, *Die Gesänge*, p. 274.

The կցուրդ is generally a psalm verse.

In the overwhelming majority of cases the կցուրդ is taken from a psalm[186] and connected with the psalmody. There is only one exception : In the Easter (and Epiphany) vigil the term is extended to include the non-scriptural responsories which accompany the two canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths[187]. We shall return to this point later.

The կցուրդ with its respective psalm is always associated with the readings.

The term appears in connection with one reading[188], with two readings[189] and with several readings, as for example during the second week of Lent, Holy Week, and the Easter vigil[190]. We observe again one exception, on Holy Saturday evening, where ps 112 (with its responsory, the կցուրդ) is placed — seemingly as an independent element — right before the Easter vigil, which opens with the office of twelve readings, including its respective psalmody with responsory[191].

At first it seemed as if the vigil of Maundy Thursday also had to be considered an exception since the կցուրդ is connected with a group of psalms referred to as զորադայ[192]. Each զորադայ has its own responsory, the կցուրդ. However, this group of psalms is placed before a group of NT readings[193]. Hence the same pattern is maintained : psalmody (with its responsory, the կցուրդ) + reading.

From what we have seen so far we can conclude that the կցուրդ is above all a *responsorium* taken from a psalm and accompanying the psalmody[194]. This is the oldest form of the կցուրդ[195]. Comparing

[186] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 210, 214, 216-222, 238-242, 260-262, 274, 278-280, 282-290 *passim*.

[187] *Ibid.*, p. 304-307 (especially nn. 22, 23); see also vol. I, p. 61 : *codex Paris 44* gives even for Is 40:1-13 a short non-scriptural refrain; II, p. 303 (n. 18).

[188] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 210, 214, 216-222, 274, 278-280, 294.

[189] *Ibid.*, p. 238-240.

[190] *Ibid.*, p. 240-242, 260-262, 282-290.

[191] *Ibid.*, p. 296. It could be that ps 112 originally opened the readings, and that the first psalm before the readings is actually a duplication of ps 112. In that case we would have again a psalm (+ its responsory) + reading.

[192] *Ibid.*, p. 270-272.

[193] This very group of psalms and readings have been incorporated into the Armenian night office; cf. WINKLER, "Armenian Night Office I", (n. 9).

[194] For the early method of singing the psalms see above all LEEB, *Die Gesänge*.

[195] *pace* ABELEAN, p. 508-509.

the Armenian *responsorium* with its Greek and Syriac counterparts we can say that the Armenian responsory has *in function* an affinity with the προκείμενον, since the *prokeimenon* is often associated with a reading[196]. It seems, however, that the *կցուրդ* is not restricted to the last part of the psalm verse as was the *prokeimenon* of Constantinople, but that the verse of the psalm is sung in its entirety. Thus we can more properly compare the Armenian refrain with the Palestinian ὑπόψαλμα and the Maronite ܡܙܡܘܪܐ[197] which derives from ܙܡܪ (*to sing*).

Łazar P'arpec'i in his famous *History of the Armenians*, also refers to the *կցուրդ* in connection with the singing of psalms : ··· *ընթանային* ··· *ի տունս, մեծամեծք եւ տղայք սաղմոսելով եւ կցորդս ասելով* (*they ran ... home, the great ones and the children, singing psalms and responsories*)[198]. Abełean is inclined to assume that P'arpec'i does not mean the responsory of a psalm, but rather a chant (*երգ*) apart from the psalms[199]. P'arpec'i belongs to the earliest Armenian sources, as does the Armenian Lectionary. We have seen that the predominant and oldest meaning of *կցուրդ* in the Lectionary is that of a psalm verse used as a responsory to the psalmody. Hence P'arpec'i's testimony may also still refer to the singing of a psalm with its respective responsory. In support of this theory we can refer to evidence of an even later period where the *կցուրդ* has still retained its original meaning of responsory to a psalm. Ōjnec'i leaves us in no doubt about this in his regulations for the morning office : ··· *ապա ըստ իւրաքանչիւր աւուր զկցուրդսն, զոր առեալ է ի սաղմոսացն* (*then the responsories according to each day, which are taken from the psalms*)[200], and then he gives the actual psalm responsories. In his survey on the feast of Epiphany he also mentions them when speaking about the consecration of the water[201] : ... *նուագելով յաւուրն յայնմիկ սաղմոս, կցուրդ ասելով « Ձայն տն ի վերայ ջուրց և զմկրտութենէն 'ի մատթեոսէ զաւետարանն ընթեռնլով՝ օրհնէին զջուրն* ··· (*chanting on that day the psalm, singing the responsory : « The voice of the Lord* [*is*] *over the waters»* [= ps 28:3] *and reading the gospel from Matthew about the baptism, they blessed the water*...). The responsory is again

[196] Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 316-317.

[197] For the *mazmuro* cf. MATEOS, *La célébration*, p. 9.

[198] Ղազարայ Փարպեցւոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց. [*The History of the Armenians by Łazar P'arpec'i*] (Tiflis 1907), p. 36; quoted in ABEŁEAN, p. 508.

[199] ABEŁEAN, p. 508.

[200] ŌJNEC'I, "Կանոն" (canon) 22 in : *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 28.

[201] ŌJNEC'I, "*Ատենաբանութիւն*" (Oratio Synodalis) VIII in : *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 12 (see also p. 121, 123).

a psalm verse, sung with the psalmody placed before a reading. Yet already in the 5th century Armenian Lectionary can we observe the first traces of extending the term *կցուրդ* also to a non-scriptural refrain intercalated in the canticles.

b. *The կցուրդ as refrain to the 3 canticles of the Easter vigil*

In the Armenian Lectionary there are 3 cantica in connection with the 12 readings as we have seen already: the canticle of Moses (Ex 15:1ff)[202] of Azarias (Dan 3: 26ff), and of the Three Youths (Dan 3:52ff). Each canticle is sung with a refrain, referred to as *կցուրդ*.

The canticle of Moses (Ex 15:1ff)

Renoux based his edition of the Lectionary on three manuscripts: *Codices Jerusalem 121* (A.D. 1192), *Paris 44* (10th cent.), and *Erevan 985* (also 10th cent.), henceforth referred to as J, P and E[203].

In connection with the reading of Exodus only E gives the rubric: *կցուրդ գառաջինն տունն սաս* (*as responsory sing the first verse* [i.e. Ex 15:1]). All 3 mss have then the incipit of verse 1: *Օրհնեսցուք զՏր զի փառաւք փառաւորեալ է Տր* (*Let us bless the Lord for the Lord is exalted with glory*)[204].

Hence according to J + E + P the canticle of Moses was sung; E informs us that it was done with a *կցուրդ* (*responsorium*) which consisted of the first verse of Ex 15.

The canticle of Azarias (Dan 3:26-45)[205]

The reading of Dan 3:1-90 contains two canticles[206]: the canticum of Azarias (Dan 3:26-45) and the ode of the Three Youths (3:52-88), each of which has a non-scriptural refrain (*կցուրդ*).

The reading extends from 1-25, followed by the canticle of Azarias

[202] *Contra* LEEB, p. 222: *Im Armenischen Lektionar hingegen scheint der abschliessende Gesang des Canticum des Moses in der Exodus Lesung der Ostervigil noch unbekannt gewesen zu sein. Auf jeden Fall sind in ihm keine Andeutungen über einen von der übrigen Exodus Lesung abstechenden Vortrag des sogenannten Mosescanticum enthalten.* This is clearly wrong.

[203] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 209.

[204] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[205] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 61, 64-67; II, p. 305-307.

[206] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 306/307.

(26-45). In the middle of the canticle, after verse 34[207], there is in all 3 codices a short non-scriptural text inserted which E identifies as *կցուրդ* (*refrain*)[208].

Verse 34 runs as follows:

> Yet do not abandon us entirely for your name's sake,
> and do not shatter your covenant,
> and do not remove your mercy from us.

This verse is followed by a rubric in E: *կցուրդ* (*refrain*). The text, which according to E is used as a refrain, differs in EJ and P[209]:

EJ	*P*
Lord sprinkle your dew of mercy *and extinguish the flame of the kindled fire* *for you alone let us recognize*[210] *as Saviour.*	*Incorruptible holy Trinity,* *out of incorruptible light shine*[211] *toward us* *and give your benevolent mercy* *for you alone we recognized*[212] *as Saviour.*

The refrain of EJ is well attested, as it is present in other mss, in contrast to the refrain of P, which could not be located in any other manuscript[213]. The refrain of EJ fits perfectly into the context of the verses 35 and following, whereas the text of P seems slightly less suitable[214]. Could the reason for exchanging the notion of fire (in the response of EJ) with a reference to the light (in P) be connected with Armenia's plight of forming part of Zoroastrian Persia? Armenia fought for an extended period the threat of imposed fire worship, and thus allusions to fire are sometimes avoided.

From the evidence we can infer that the reading of Dan 3 included the canticle of Azarias (Dan 3:26-45). It seems, however, as if the canticle were sung without interruption up to verse 34. Why the sudden change from verse 34 onward? If we read the text of the canticle we realize that it consists of two parts: verses 26-34 contain a confession of guilt and acknowledgement of God's justice which

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[207] Not 6/35a as RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 305 indicated.

[208] *Ibid.*, p. 306 (n. 88).

[209] Renoux's French translation (p. 307) is somewhat free.

[210] *Ibid.*, p. 306 (n. 89): [instead of] ծանիցեն [*may they recognize*] *lege* ծանիցուք [*may we recognize*, or: *let us recognize*].

[211] *Ibid.*: ծագէ [*sic*], obviously a misprint, it should be: ծագեա.

[212] *Ibid.*: ծանեք [*sic*] which is corrupt; closest to ծանեք would be ծանեաք (*we recognized*); cf. H. JENSEN, *Altarmenische Grammatik* (Heidelberg 1959), p. 110 (287).

[213] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* I, p. 65.

[214] *Ibid.*, p. 64-65.

ends with verse 34. At this point is inserted the refrain : «Lord sprinkle your dew of mercy ...». From verse 34-45 the text has a slightly different character, to which the refrain of EJ fits particularly well.

The canticle of the Three Youths (Dan 3:52-88)

The reading ends with verse 51, and the canticle begins with verse 52. Before verse 52 we find once more a non-scriptural text. J + E agree again, whereas P has another text[215]. The refrain (— we can safely assume that the text was used as a կցուրդ[216] —) of EJ has an incipit which is of particular interest since later on all the Armenian *troparia* (շարականք), which were composed in order to accompany the canticle of the Three Youths, carry the name of this very incipit :

> *Հարցն մերոց դու ողորմեցար*[217] ...
> *For our fathers you had pity*
> *you visited [them].*
> *You redeemed us.*

The refrain of P differs[218] :

> *The ram you substituted for Isaac*
> *Christ became*[219] *[the ram] unto our salvation.*

Again the text of EJ is well attested in contrast to the refrain of P[220]. The codices EJ indicate that *Հարցն* (*For our fathers* ...) accompanies [as կցուրդ] the canticle of the Three Youths (Dan 3:52-88). The կցուրդ is followed by the text of the canticle which begins with *Օրհնեալ* ... (*Blessed* ... [= verse 52]). But E places a rubric, *փոխ*, right before the incipit of the canticle[221]. *Փոխ* is a technical term for *alternated* singing : *փոխել* = lit. : "to change", "to alter"; in liturgical language *to alternate*. This rubric implies then that the people were divided into two choirs, alternating — *what*? In the first place the fixed refrain

[215] RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 306, does not indicate in the *apparatus* whether E places before verse 52 again the rubric : կցուրդ.

[216] *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 61, 64-67.

[217] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 306; my translation differs slightly from Renoux's French text.

[218] *Ibid.*, I do not agree with Renoux's translation. It would be interesting to investigate the data in *Codex 3* of the Vienna collection since it is a *ճաշոց* (*lectionary*) of the 10th to 11th cent. and contains very old material; cf. DASHIAN, *Catalog* I, p. 6.

[219] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 306 : *եղեաւ* [*sic*]; it should be : *եղեւ*; cf. JENSEN, *Grammatik*, p. 97 (251).

[220] Cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* I, p. 64-67.

[221] *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 306 (n. 103) : *ante աւրհնեալ*, *փոխ in margine* E.

of the canticle itself, only secondarily also the non-scriptural refrain, the *հարց*. Already the canticle has two refrains in its biblical text:

> 52 b is placed after each verse (from 52-56)
> 57 b is repeated after each verse (from 57-88).

If the people are to sing the canticle as *փոխ*, i.e. alternately, then we would have the following sequence:

> *soloist*: verse 52 a + *choir I* : 52 b (*Blessed and highly exalted forever*)
> *soloist*: verse 53 a + *choir II*: 53 b (= 52 b: *Blessed and highly* ...)
> *soloist*: verse 54 a + *choir I* : 54 b (= 52 b: *Blessed and* ... ...)
> etc. up to verse 57.

The refrain changes then slightly from verse 57 onward:

> verse 57 a: *Օրհնեցէք ամենայն գործք* [222] *Տեառն զՏէր*
> Bless the Lord all ye works of the Lord
> 57 b: Bless and exalt him forever.

Verse 57 b is the refrain which is already present in the biblical text, being added to each verse till the end of the canticle. The *փոխ* (*alternate*) singing would thus continue:

> *soloist*: verse 57 a + *choir I* : 57 b (*Bless and exalt him forever*)
> *soloist*: verse 58 a + *choir II*: 58 b (= 57 b: *Bless and exalt* ...)
> etc.

At the end of Dan 3:1-90 (i.e. the reading with the two canticles) we find the rubric: «*And while the* [*last*] *canticle* (*աւրհնութիւն*) *is sung* [*in*] *the middle of the night* ...». The term *canticle* refers here to the last canticle, the ode of the Three Youths.

How can we reconcile the refrain (v.g. *հարցն* = *For our fathers*) with the reference to the *alternate* singing (*փոխ*) before the incipit of the canticle with its fixed refrain in the biblical text itself? This is a problem since the rubric *փոխ* is not placed before the non-scriptural poem, the *կցուրդ*, but before the fixed refrain of the canticle itself[223]. There are two possibilities to solve the issue of these juxtaposed responsories. Either the fixed refrain of the canticle itself (verse 52 b for verses 52-56; verse 57 b for the verses 57-88) was the original *կցուրդք*(*responsorium*) which later was supplanted by the new short non-scriptures refrain. Or the hymn was *added* to the already existing

[222] For the discussion of *գործք*; *cf. infra*, text to notes 281-282.
[223] Cf. note 221.

refrain of the canticle itself. Thus we would have the refrain of the canticle (verse 52 b / 57 b) + կցուրդ, i.e. the ecclesial poetry, both of which were sung alternately after each verse of the canticle:

soloist: verse 52 a + *choir I* : 52 b + non-scriptural poem
soloist: verse 53 a + *choir II*: 52 b + non-scriptural poem; etc.

This is precisely how the canticle of the Three Youths is sung in the East-Syrian tradition, as Mateos has pointed out: *Le respons du* Benedicite [= Dan 3:57] *qui appartient au texte du cantique* (*« Louez-le et exaltez-le dans les siècles »*) *accompagne chaque verset. Malgré cela, on lui a ajouté un refrain* ...[224]. Furthermore, the *'onita* consists of a poem which is always preceded by a psalm verse[225].

There can be no doubt that this type of refrain represents a later development. Originally the canticles were sung with a refrain taken from the text of the canticles itself as is clearly seen in the canticle of Moses, Ex 15:1ff. The first verse is the refrain to the canticle. The same was seemingly true for the canticle of the Three Youths: the original կցուրդ is the refrain of the canticle itself to which later on the ecclesiastical poetry was added.

In the Armenian Lectionary we observe the first traces of introducing hymnic material which was sung alternately (as the rubric փոխ of E suggests)[226]. Renoux considered whether these refrains represent the tradition of Jerusalem or whether they are of Armenian origin[227]. Baumstark favoured the possibility that these responsories are genuine Armenian compositions[228], whereas Renoux assumed a Jerusalem origin. Renoux and Leeb are correct in their assumption that the general direction of the further development in the hagiopolite liturgy moved toward an increase of hymnic material[229]. Leeb has followed this evolution in the Georgian Lectionary which reflects the Jerusalem liturgy of the late 5th to 8th century. If the Armenian Lectionary mirrors the liturgical practices of Jerusalem at the beginning of the 5th century, and the Georgian Lectionary those of the timespan

[224] Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 76.
[225] *Ibid.*, p. 492.
[226] These new refrains even began to spread to other scriptural passages like the reading of Is 60:1-13, which has a refrain inserted according to P. This refrain is still missing in the other two mss. E + J; cf. Renoux, *Le codex arménien* I, p. 63.
[227] *Ibid.*, p. 63-64, 66-67.
[228] Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 58; see also Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, p. 62-63.
[229] Leeb, *Die Gesänge*; Renoux, *loc. cit.*

between the 5th and 8th centuries, then we can expect to find some further evolution with regard to these refrains of the canticles in the Georgian Lectionary. Yet these refrains in connection with the canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths of the Armenian Lectionary are altogether absent in the Georgian Kanonar[230]. The absence of these hymnic elements in the Georgian Lectionary points strongly to an Armenian origin of these non-biblical refrains, a theory already mentioned by Baumstark and more recently by Bertonière[231]. Thus the կցուրդ of the canticles have to be counted to the oldest hymnic elements of the Armenian Church which are already present by the beginning of the 5th century in the context of the Easter vigil. We can even go a step further. The evolution of the hymns, best referred to as *troparia* (շարականք), within the Armenian office has its origin in these refrains (կցուրդք) of the three canticles. In the canticle of Moses the refrain is still taken from the text of the canticle itself, whereas in the odes of Azarias and the Three Youths the further development is reflected. The *canticum* of the Three Youths still has a refrain which forms part of the canticle itself as the rubric փոխ at the beginning of the ode implies. Yet to this refrain another responsory is already added which consists of a short non-scriptural hymn. The last stage is mirrored in the canticle of Azarias where only the non-scriptural poem is used as the refrain.

The earliest meaning of կցուրդ is that of a psalm verse sung in response to the psalmody. But already at an early period has the կցուրդ become extended to hymnic elements which serve as refrains to the canticles. Out of these կցուրդք of the *Easter vigil* will develop the շարականք, i.e. the troparia, which accompany the main parts of nearly all the offices.

2. The evolution of the շարականք (*troparia*)

We have seen that the original *Sitz im Leben* of the canticles is in the Easter vigil. The same has naturally to be said about the hymns which grew out of the refrains to the canticles: they originated in the yearly celebration of the resurrection. It could be that the christological

[230] Cf. Bertonière, *Easter Vigil*, p. 62-63 and chart A-2 (at the end of the book). For the Georgian Lectionary see also Leeb, p. 222 (what he says about the Armenian Lectionary is incorrect; *cf. supra*, note 202).

[231] Cf. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 58; Bertonière, *loc. cit.*

controversies of the 5th and 6th centuries were a decisive factor in the further expansion of these hymns. The troparia appear first for the high feasts of the Lord such as Easter and Epiphany[232]. The *կցուրդք* of the canticles, which gave the Easter vigil additional solemnity, are among the oldest hymns in the Armenian liturgy. We encounter their offspring as *օրհնութիւն* [233], *հարց* [234], (and *գործք* [235],) in the daily offices of the night and morning[236]. *Օրհնութիւն* and *հարց* (including also *գործք*) are the oldest categories of hymns[237]. The hymnic elements, which emerged in connection with the celebration of the great feasts of the Lord, are the seed from which the hymns of the *daily* office grew into the so-called "kanon of troparia"[238]. This is true at least for the Armenian hymns of the Divine Office which are gathered and classified according to the liturgical year in the *շարակնոց* or simply *շարական* (*tropologion* or *troparion*). Husmann is correct when he insists that one should not render *շարակնոց* with *hymnarium*, as is often done[239], but with *tropologion* or *troparion*[240]. The hymns of the office, the *շարականներ*, are a special category of hymns, distinct from the *երգ* (*hymn, chant*) and the *տաղ* (*song*) which are collected in the *երգարան* (= *hymnarium*) and *տաղարան* (*song-book*). The *շարականներ* (best translated with *troparia*) are much older than the *երգեր* (*hymns*) or *տաղեր* (*songs*), both of which developed only during the 13th century[241], whereas the *շարական* (*troparion*) is the direct offspring of the *կցուրդ*, i.e. the *responsorium* to (the psalmody and) the canticles. The oldest non-biblical hymns were used as refrains to the canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths (cf. Armenian Lectionary), to which was probably

[232] Also the development of the feast of Christmas is closely related with the christological disputes. It was only by the end of the 4th cent. that Christ's nativety came to be celebrated on Dec. 25. Armenia has kept the older shape of the feast with its double solemnity of the nativity and baptism of Christ celebrated January 6. For the first traces of hymns for the vigil of Epiphany cf. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien* I, p. 61-63.

[233] Grown out of Ex 15:1.

[234] Associated with Dan 3:26 and 56 (= the respective incipits of the canticle of Azarias and the Three Youths).

[235] Connected with Dan 3:57; *cf. infra*, text to notes 222, 281-282.

[236] It has to be remembered that the original unity of the 3 canticles was artificially divided into 1 variable canticle for the night and 2 (and later more) for the morning (*cf. supra*).

[237] Cf. TER-MIKAELIAN, p. 5; ŌRMANEAN, p. 260-261.

[238] Cf. ABELEAN, p. 514.

[239] Cf. Ter-Mikaëlian's study of the *շարակնոց* which he translates with "*Hymnarium*".

[240] Cf. HUSMANN, "Die Gesänge der armenischen Liturgie", p. 99.

[241] *Ibid.*, p. 99ff; PETERMANN, "Musik der Armenier", p. 367.

soon added also the canticle of Moses (Ex 15). Eventually not only the *cantica*, but also all the major parts of the daily offices were sung with troparia (շարականք).

a. The present context of the շարականներ

The series of troparia for the office are called կանոն շարականաց (*kanon of troparia*). Both, the festal and the ferial office have now a series of eight hymns which have specific names[242]. I shall present the name of the respective hymns, indicating their place in the office, and referring to the pages in the Armenian horologion to locate them.

NAME OF TROPARION (+ translation)	PLACE IN THE OFFICE	IN THE HOROLOGION
1. Օրհնութիւն (*Praise*)[243]	of the night (with canticle Ex 15)	p. 127
2. Հարց (*Of [our] fathers*)	of the morning (with canticle Dan 3)	p. 224-259
[Գործք (*Works*)[244]	of the morning (with canticle Dan 3)	p. 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231-232]
3. Մեծացուսցէ (*May [my soul] magnify*)	of the morning (with Magnificat)	p. 238-241
4. Ողորմեա (*Have mercy*)	of the morning (with ps 50)	p. 263-267
5. Տէր երկնից (*Lord of heavens*)	of the morning (with pss 148-150)	p. 273-279
6. Ճաշու (*Of midday*)	in the liturgy (before OT reading)	p. 456-470
7. Համբարձի (*I elevated*)	of the evening (with ps 120)	p. 561-567
8. Մանկունք (*The children*)[245]	of the morning (with ps 112)	p. 321-324

We will restrict ourselves to a brief survey on the history of the inclusion of the troparia in the night office (գիշերային) and also in

[242] For the survey were used: AWETIK'EAN, pp. ը—թ; ABELEAN, p. 510-511; AČARYAN III, p. 501-502. The French summary by NÈVE ("L'hymnologie", p. 4-5) is also based on Awetik'ean. The survey in *DACL* VI/2, col. 2899ff, is taken over from Nève (often *verbatim*). A concise outline is offered by PETERMANN, "Musik der Armenier", p. 366-367; see also TER-MIKAËLIAN, p. 4-5. For the hymns of special feasts cf. Renoux's contributions listed at note 2.

[243] Օրհնութիւն can be rendered "praise", "benediction", "canticle".

[244] Գործք (cf. Dan 3:57) actually forms part of Հարց (Dan 3). It is listed only in ABELEAN, p. 510-511 and AČARYAN III, p. 501.

[245] Not listed in ABELEAN, p. 511. It is the last hymn of the morning office, and is not sung at the feasts of the Lord; cf. TER-MIKAËLIAN, p. 26.

parts of the morning synaxis (*առաւօտեան*), since these hymns probably grew out of the *կցուրդ* to the canticles, and the canticles are now found in both offices, of the night and the morning.

We have seen that the Armenian nocturnal service (*գիշերային*) originally consisted of the recitation of a variable canon of psalms, in contrast to the morning office with its fixed psalmody : pss 50 + 148-150, concluding with the Gloria in excelsis. We also saw how canticles became attached to the variable *psalmodia currens* and how already by the end of the 7th century the canticles of Dan 3 (Azarias + Three Youths) opened even the ferial office of the morning (whereas the Magnificat was still restricted to Sundays). So by the second half of the 7th century these two offices consisted of the following main elements on ferial days (the Armenian incipit of these essential parts of the office is also indicated) :

գիշերային (NIGHT OFFICE)
variable psalmody + variable canticle (*Օրհնութիւն*)
առաւօտեան (MORNING OFFICE)
Dan 3 : 26-45 : *Օրհնեալ ես Տէր Աստուած հարցն մերոց* ···
52-88 : *Օրհնեալ ես դու Տէր Աստուած հարցն մերոց* [246]
[Sunday :
Magnificat : *Մեծացուսցէ* ···]
ps 50 : *Ողորմեա* ···
pss 148-150 : *Օրհնեցէք զՏէր յերկնից* ···
followed by the Gloria in excelsis.

In the course of time each of these major elements of the office (the canticles and psalms) were sung with troparia as refrains, first at the high feasts of the Lord, then also on Sundays, and eventually also at the ferial office. The name of these troparia was derived from the incipit of the canticles and psalms to which these hymns were added as responsories. Thus we have the following nomenclature for the troparia :

	name of troparion
NIGHT OFFICE	
variable psalmody + variable canticle (*Օրհնութիւն*)	*Օրհնութիւն* [247]
MORNING OFFICE	
Dan 3:26/52 : *Օրհնեալ ես* (52 *add* : *դու*) *Տէր Աստուած հարցն մերոց* ···	*Հարց*

[246] The canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths are sung together.
[247] *Cf. infra*, text at note 264.

[Sunday:		
Magnificat:	*Մեծացուսցէ* ···	*Մեծացուսցէ* [248]]
ps 50	: *Ողորմեա* ···	*Ողորմեա*
pss 148-150	: *Օրհնեցէք զՏէր յերկնից*	*Տէր երկնից*

b. *The initial nucleus of the Armenian kanon of troparia* (կանոն շարականաց)

Now the problem of the first nucleus of the *kanon of troparia* has to be solved. Did the initial formation of the *kanon* of hymns evolve around the psalms, or the canticles, or both? What are the antecedents of the Armenian *կանոն շարականաց* (*kanon of troparia*)? One of the troparia, namely *Հարց*, we encountered already in the Armenian Lectionary, where it was sung with the canticle of the Three Youths (Dan 3:52ff): *Հարցն մերոց դու ողորմեցար* ··· (*For our fathers you had pity* ...)[249].

It was shown already that in the 5th century Armenian Lectionary the hymns are connected with the three canticles of the vigils of Easter and Epiphany, or more precisely with the canticles of Azarias (Dan 3:26ff) and the Three Youths (Dan 3:52ff). For the ode of Moses (Ex 15:1ff) a verse of the text itself is still used as refrain. The canticle of Azarias was sung with the following troparion (according to the mss J + E): "Lord sprinkle your dew of mercy ...". For the canticle of the Three Youths the troparion was *Հարց* ("*For our Fathers* ..."). It can be assumed that in the course of time all 3 canticles were sung with a troparion, and that these troparia were adapted to the specific character of the respective feast of the Lord. The canticles with their refrains were originally imbedded in the Easter vigil; the vigil of Epiphany was modelled after that of Easter. From the Easter vigil the canticles with their respective troparia fanned out first to the other anamnetic celebration of Pascha, the Sunday vigil, but very soon also to the other feasts of the Lord, and eventually even to the ferial office[250]. It is highly probable that the christological controversies were crucial in the development and expansion of these hymns and their spreading to the vigils of all dominical feasts. In particular the non-chalcedonian communities of Syro-Palestine seem to have used

[248] Later on even two other NT canticles were added which have no special troparion, however.

[249] *Cf. supra*: Renoux, *Le codex arménien* II, p. 306.

[250] *Cf. supra* the following chapters: the evolution of the use of the canticles in the offices of the second half of the night till morning; their use in the Armenian Sunday vigil; the *կցուրդ* as refrain to the canticles.

these troparia to express their views about Christ. The troparia which highlight and interpret the theological content of the feasts lent themselves to such a purpose. The ὁ μονογενής, the expanded version of the trisagion, as well as other chants of this period like the so-called *oktoechos* of Severus of Antioch, give evidence of this development [251]. It seems as if we have to surmise a similar evolution in Armenia, as the reform activities of Nersēs Šinoł (641-652, 658-661) and Step'annos Siwnec'i (ca 680-735) suggest. Both hierarchs very carefully selected the troparia they considered appropriate. The testimony of Kirakos Ganjakec'i (1200-1271) about Nersēs Šinoł deserves greater attention than Ter-Mikaëlian was willing to concede to it [252]. The famous historian narrates how Catholicos Nersēs III once visited Bagowan [253] at the feast of transfiguration to celebrate the feast in the local church of Bagowan but :

(a) *բազմացեալ էր երգ շարականաց յեկեղեցի Հայոց*
(b) *մինչեւ ոչ գիտել միոյ գաւառի զերգս միւսոյն*
(c) *եւ ասացին* [254] *շարական ի վարդավառի Հարցն*
(d) *եւ միւս գաւառ ոչ կարաց փոխել զնա*
(e) *եւ փոխեցին բազում շարականս*
(f) *եւ զայն եւս ոչ գիտէին* ... [255]

(a) *the troparia-hymns had increased in the Armenian Church*
(b) *until the hymns of one province were unknown to the other.*
(c) *And they sang the troparion Հարց from the transfiguration*

[251] For the ὁ μονογενής see V. GRUMEL, "L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire ὁ μονογενής", *Echos d'Orient* 22 (1923), p. 398-418. The christocentric expansion of the trisagion was seemingly accepted at the synod of Vałaršapat 491; cf. A. TER-MIKELIAN, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen (vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert)* [Leipzig 1892], p. 47-48. For the Severian *oktoechos* see BAUMSTARK, *Festbrevier*, p. 45 (see also p. 71-72).

[252] Cf. TER-MIKAËLIAN, p. 55ff; he quotes GANJAKEC'I's *Պատմութիւն Հայոց* (*History of the Armenians*) from the Venice edition of 1865; ABEŁEAN (p. 504) uses the Tiflis edition of 1909.

[253] For the name of Bagowan cf. H. HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen mit Beiträgen zur historischen Topographie Armeniens* (Strassburg 1904, reprint Amsterdam 1969), p. 411.

[254] TER-MIKAËLIAN (p. 55) unnecessarily alters the Armenian text; cf. ABEŁEAN, p. 504.

[255] KIRAKOS GANJAKEC'I, *Պատմութիւն* (*History*) quoted in TER-MIKAËLIAN, p. 55; ABEŁEAN, p. 504. Ter-Mikaëlian's German translation (p. 55-56) is not clear to me. It must have been very difficult for the Armenian scholar to write in German. This obviously accounts for some of the obscure passages in his book, particularly with regard to liturgical terminology; he translates, for example, the *կցուրդ* with "*Anfangsworte*" (p. 66, 69 *passim*) which has no meaning in a liturgical context.

(d) *and the other choir was unable to respond alternately* (*փոխել*) *to it*;
(e) *and they sang alternately* (*փոխեցին*) *many troparia*
(f) *and even this they did not know* ...

The rest of the story is quickly told: a synod is convoked at which Nersēs decides to unify the liturgical practices, carefully selecting the troparia which should be used throughout the country. Only those troparia were to remain which the hierarchy considered "useful" (*պիտանի*) and "advantageous" (*օգտակար*)[256].

Ter-Mikaēlian dismissed the story altogether as legendary. Yet there is more to it than the Armenian scholar had thought. From the evidence we can infer some interesting traits of the troparia:

1. Transfiguration (c) is an important feast of the Lord. By the 7th century there existed troparia which gave the vigil to this feast[257] an additional festive character.

2. The allusion to the troparion *Հարց* (c) is by no means to be dismissed as legendary, since we know that already by the 5th century the vigils of Easter and Epiphany included this hymn attached to the canticle of Dan 3. The presence of *Հարցն* in the 5th century makes it quite possible that by the 7th century additional troparia had been composed which elucidated the specific character of the other great feasts of the Lord. Although only *Հարցն* is explicitly referred to, it can be assumed that also the other canticles, and probably even the morning psalms, may by that time have had short non-biblical hymns as refrains[258].

3. The initial statements (a-b) are the most interesting ones. Could it be that there were already so many troparia by the middle of the 7th century that one province did not know those of the other? We have to answer this question affirmatively despite the reserve of Ter-Mikaëlian and Abelean. Both Armenian writers assume that even by the beginning of the 8th century (i.e. at the time of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i) there were only very few hymns, restricted to the feasts of the Lord and perhaps to some venerated saints[259]. Yet the investigation of the evidence in Ōjnec'i led me to the unexpected conclusion that at his

[256] For the Armenian text cf. ABELEAN, p. 504; TER-MIKAĒLIAN, p. 55.

[257] The vigil consisted of a combined office of *գիշերային* (*night*) and *առաւօտեան* (*morning*).

[258] *Cf. infra* the discussion of Ōjnec'i's testimony.

[259] Cf. TER-MIKAĒLIAN, p. 61-62; ABELEAN, p. 510, 514.

time not only the canticles and psalms of the vigils of the high feasts of Christ were sung with troparia, but that even the ferial office already had hymns attached to the various parts of the morning office (*cf. infra*). The existence of troparia in the daily office by the beginning of the 8th century sheds new light on the validity of Ganjakec'i's report about the increase of hymns during the 7th century (a). The 7th century (perhaps already the second half of the 6th century) seems indeed to be the time-span when troparia increased to a considerable extent in the Armenian Church. The findings in Ōjnec'i also support Ganjakec'i's indication about the great variety of local practices (a-b) with regard to these troparia, which made it difficult for Nersēs Šinoł and his entourage to sing alternately the troparia with the local church of Bagowan (c-e). That the singing was done alternately is indicated twice: the choirs were unable to respond to each other alternately (d); one of the parties sang alternately the hymns in a way unknown to the other (e-f). We encountered the rubric *փոխ* for alternating singing already in the 5th century Armenian Lectionary.

4. The variety of troparia and local differences led the Armenian catholicos to establish greater cohesion and uniformity in these chants. There is possibly a deeper reason behind this reform. The selection of hymns by Nersēs may reflect the concern of the catholicos to exclude troparia which were no longer representative of Armenian teaching about Christ. The reference to the choice of hymns which were *useful* (պիտանի) and *advantageous* (օգտակար) could point in this direction[260]. Other reports come to the support of Kirakos Ganjakec'i's indication about Nersēs Šinoł's troparia reform. Several Armenian sources allude to how Nersēs delegated the selection of the troparia to a certain Barseł Čon[261].

Ter-Mikaëlian paid considerable attention to the question of the authorship of individual troparia[262]. Yet this problem is of less importance than the slow, but steady growth and accumulation of troparia as a whole. They eventually assumed such overriding significance that they suffocated the original element, the canticles, to

[260] Cf. note 256.

[261] Cf. ABELEAN, p. 504-505; TER-MIKAELIAN, p. 57-58, 68, disputes the validity of these sources.

[262] Cf. TER-MIKAELIAN, p. 63ff.

which they were once attached as an additional, subordinate element. Our main concern is to solve the problem of how these troparia were used initially as refrains to the canticles, then also to the psalms, and eventually developing into the կանոն շարականաց (*kanon of troparia*).

We have seen how the three fixed canticles of the Easter vigil (and the Sunday cathedral vigil) had been reorganized into one variable canticle attached to the variable psalmody of the night office. The remaining two fixed canticles opened even the ferial morning office. By the end of the 7th century this had already become common practice (*cf. supra*). Yet these two fixed canticles had also undergone some changes. Originally the two fixed odes consisted of the *canticum* of Azarias and the Three Youths as we have tried to demonstrate. By the end of the 7th century these two canticles were apparently sung together, and a new canticle, the Magnificat, was inserted into the Sunday vigil. This change also had its effect on the development of the troparia. The canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths came to be considered one canticle, referred to as the canticle of the Three Youths[263]. The troparion Հարց, which according to the Armenian Lectionary is the troparion for the Three Youths, is by then sung with Azarias as well. The names of the troparia were derived from the incipit of the canticles (or psalms), as we have seen. The shift of Հարց 'rom the canticle of the Three Youths to the canticle of Azarias caused no problem since both canticles, Dan 3:26ff (= Azarias) and Dan 3:52ff (= Three Youths) have the same incipit: Օրհնեալ ես (52 *add*: դու) Տէր Աստուած հարցն մերոց. ut as the "canticle of the Three Youths" actually consists of Azarias and the Three Youths, so likewise does the troparion Հարց actually consist of Հարց and գործք, with the latter inspired by Dan 3:57 (*cf. infra*).

The canticle of Moses (Ex 15:1ff) is the Easter canticle par excellence. Since it was *the* canticle, it was referred to simply as օրհնութիւն ("canticle"). That in turn led to the name of its troparion: օրհնութիւն. After the 5th century, and before the second half of the 7th century, the originally fixed canticle of Moses became attached to the psalmody of the night office, changing into a variable canticle, which concluded the variable psalms of the nocturnal office. Yet the name for the

[263] As is implied, for example, in Ōjnec'i, "Ատենաբանութիւն" (Oratio Synodalis) X in: Մատենագրութիւնք, p. 18-19.

troparia of this variable canticle remains to the present day: *օրհնութիւն*. Also the incipit of the canticle of Moses (Ex 15:1) was retained: *օրհնեսցուք զՏէր* ··· which inaugurates to the present day the troparia of *օրհնութիւն*[264], thus demonstrating that originally there was but one fixed canticle (not variable ones), and that this fixed canticle was the ode of Moses (Ex 15:1ff).

From what has emerged so far it is legitimate to hypothesize that the antecedents of the *կանոն շարականաց* (*kanon of troparia*) consisted of the 3 troparia sung as refrains to the 3 canticles. The first nucleus of the Armenian *kanon* consists of the troparia which were attached to the canticles of Moses (Ex 15:1ff), Azarias, and the Three Youths[265]. Although the first canticle became variable, the troparion still retained its original name *օրհնութիւն*, and the troparion of Azarias together with the Three Youths is referred to as *Հարց* + *գործք* (cf. *infra*).

Another interesting observation about the probable etymology of the term *շարական* (*troparion*) should be mentioned in this context, for it may explain how the original term *kc'urd* (refrain) changed to the later term *šarakan* (troparion). Several attempts have been made to solve the etymological origin of *շարական*. Scholars like P. de Lagarde, G. Awetik'ean, N. Ēmin, and N. Marr — to name just the most important ones — arrived at different solutions[265a]. Marr's explanation deserves particular attention. He rejected any connection with the arabic: *ši'r* ("song"), first because the form *շար* cannot derive from *ši'r*, and secondly because no Armenian religious terms come from the Arabs[265b]. The Georgian scholar believed that the Armenian term derives from the Syriac ܫܗܪܐ which means "vigil", and in a broader sense also "the songs of the vigil", the *qale d-šahra*. Thus the term *շարական* would originate from *šahra* (*[songs of the] vigil*) plus the adjective suffix *—ական*, which sometimes is also used to form nouns. Marr may very well be on the right track with his

[264] Cf. *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*), p. 127.

[265] Later the Magnificat also received a troparion: *Մեծացուսցէ*, also following in its nomenclature the incipit of the canticle.

[265a] A very good overview of the various theories is given in AČARYAN III, p. 502: some connected the Armenian word with *hebr*: *šaraq* ("to whistle", "to hiss"), or with *šir* ("song"), respectively *arabic*: *ši'r*, *persian*: *šurud*, *turkish*: *šarqi*. Others rejected these explanation, suggesting an Armenian origin, deriving *շարական* from *շար* ("string", "series") and *ակն* (*gen*: *ական* / "precious stone", "pearl") or: *շար* and the suffix *—ական*.

[265b] I am following here Ačaryan's survey, p. 502; Marr's theory is also briefly mentioned by TER-MIKAELIAN, p. 28.

theory about *շարական* deriving from "vigil-songs", i.e. the Syriac *qale d-šahra*, because the *qale d-šahra* (*songs of the vigil*) in the East-Syrian tradition are nothing else but the Sunday vigil, which consists of 3 canticles as I have already explained (*cf. supra* notes 99, 108). *Qale d-šahra* is the technical term for the cathedral vigil, celebrated on Sundays, which consists of 3 canticles with their respective refrains, the *qanone*. Thus the roots of *շարական* (*troparion*) would reflect the original context of the troparia, namely the 3 canticles of the Easter vigil from which the Sunday vigil derives.

But also a comparison of the Armenian term *kanon* with the Byzantine and Syrian terminology leads us directly to the canticles. Not only in the Armenian tradition are those troparia, which form the very first nucleus of the *kanon*, closely connected with the canticles. The same is also true for the Byzantine κανών. It also consists of those troparia which belong to the canticles. There are 9 canticles (clearly a secondary development: 3 + 3 + 3) which were sung with the respective troparia[266]. The creation of the Byzantine *kanon* is attributed to Andrew of Crete (7th-8th cent.), just as the Armenian *kanon* is to Step'annos Siwnec'i (also 7th-8th cent.). The most illustrious poets of the Byzantine *kanon* are Andrew's contemporaries John of Damascus and Cosmas of Jerusalem[267]. The origins of these three men lie in Syro-Palestine[268]; John and Cosmas even became monks of the famous lavra of St. Sabas close by Jerusalem.

In the East-Syrian office too, the *qanone* (*responsories*) began to supplant the older *šubbaḥa* (i.e. the *Glory to you*) during the time of Pseudo-Giwargis of Arbela, i.e. the 9th century[269].

It has been said that the Armenian *kanon of troparia* (*կանոն շարականաց*) derives from the Byzantine *kanon*[270]. The fact that Siw-

[266] The present Byzantine *kanon* consists of 8 odes + troparia; for the exclusion of the 2nd canticle cf. BERNHARD, "Der Ausfall der 2. Ode"; STRUNK, "The Byzantine Office". Later the troparia replaced the odes, as in the Armenian office. Originally the troparia were subordinated to the canticles. H.G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (= Byzantinisches Handbuch II, 1, Munich 1959), p. 265, puts it very succintly: *Ursprünglich hatte der Kanon kein eigenständiges Leben, sondern diente dazu zwischen die biblischen Cantica (ᾠδαί) eingestreut zu werden.*

[267] Cf. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (ed. of 1891), p. 319-321; BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 515f.

[268] Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Festbrevier*, p. 71-72.

[269] Cf. MATEOS, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, p. 31-32, 313-314; *cf. supra*, text to note 114.

[270] Cf. ABELEAN, p. 510-515 (especially p. 513-514).

nec'i spent some time in Byzantium[271] seems to corroborate Abełean's theory of Armenia's dependence on the Byzantine *kanon*. However, the close ties of the Byzantine poets with Syro-Palestine, together with Armenia's close connection with Jerusalem in matters of the Divine Office, and the development of the *qanone* in East-Syria at roughly the same period, exclude this theory. Another factor, which has escaped Abełean, also deserves attention here. The initial nucleus of Armenian *kanon* is older than the Byzantine *kanon*, and the latter is restricted to the troparia of the 9 odes, whereas the Armenian *kanon* did not remain limited to the canticles, but was soon extended to the psalms of the morning office also, as we shall see. This is already the case by the end of the 7th century[272]. Hence any borrowing from Byzantium by the Armenians can be safely dismissed. Baumstark is right when he says: *Auf das westliche Syrien als die Heimatstätte ... konvergiert dies alles*[273]. It may even be from Jerusalem that these initial impulses for the *kanon* of troparia came, subsequently fanning out to Armenia, Byzantium, and East-Syria. It seems as if both, the initial Armenian and the Byzantine *kanon*, derive from the hagiopolite vigil with its 3 canticles. The fact that the Byzantine as well as the first nucleus of the Armenian *kanon* consist of troparia, sung as refrains to the canticles, seems to point toward Jerusalem. The roots and antecedents of the կանոն շարականաց (*kanon of troparia*) lie thus in the vigil of Jerusalem with its 3 canticles and refrains as the Armenian Lectionary suggests. Also the origins of the term շարական converge in the 3 canticles of the Sunday vigil, which has its roots in the Easter vigil of Jerusalem.

c. *The formation of the* կանոն շարականաց *(kanon of troparia)*

We shall divide this section into two parts: first we shall look into the evidence of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i demonstrating the existence of a

[271] *Ibid.*; Abełean heavily stresses Siwnec'i's sojourn in the Byzantine Empire in order to prove his theory of a direct borrowing of the Armenian *kanon* from the Byzantine office.

[272] The Armenians expanded their *kanon* in two ways: a) the *kanon* included the troparia for the night, morning, and evening offices (i.e. the most prominent services of the horologion), b) it included also the troparia for the psalms (in particular those of the morning office: pss 50, 148-150). Thus the Byzantine *kanon* consists only of the troparia for the 9 canticles, whereas the Armenian *kanon* eventually comes to include all the troparia of the major offices.

[273] Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Festbrevier*, p. 72.

great variety of hymns by the beginning of the 8th century; then we shall deal with Siwnec'i's organization of these hymns, and what the Armenian historians report about it.

The testimony about the troparia in the various writings of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i has never been investigated in a systematic way. Ter-Mikaēlian mentions only Ōjnec'i, and that in passing. The Armenian scholar believes that to Ōjnec'i "only psalms or at best psalm-imitations are known" (*nach alledem ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, dass Johann ... nur Psalmen oder höchstens Psalmimitationen bekannt sind*)[274]. What he exactly means by "psalm-imitations" is left open. A closer examinations of the evidence in Ōjnec'i has led me to different conclusions. My analysis includes the material in Ōjnec'i's *Oratio Synodalis* (Ատենաբանութիւն), the *Canones* (կանոնք), and the *De Officiis Ecclesiae* (Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ) attributed to Ōjnec'i[275].

Neither Ojnec'i nor Siwnec'i say much about the variable canticle and the troparion of the night office. They only agree that the canticles in general symbolize the eighth age, and the preceding 7 *գործայք* (subsections) of the *psalmodia currens* the seven ages of the world[276]. The various parts of the morning office, however, are explained in greater detail. Hence our material about the troparia stems above all from Ōjnec'i's reflections on and decrees about the morning office (առաւօտեան).

(1) *The explanation of the ferial morning office in the Oratio Synodalis*

The incipits of the following canticles and psalms are given in this sequence:

(a) Dan 3:26 : *Օրհնեալ ես տր աձ հարցն մերոց*
(b) Dan 3:57[277] : *Օրհնեցէք ած գործք ան զտր*

[274] TER-MIKAËLIAN, p. 61 (emphasis mine); on the next page he contradicts himself when he admits: *Es ist möglich, natürlich und wahrscheinlich, dass die armenische Kirche schon seit Anfang des V. Jahrhunderts neben dem Psalmengesang auch eigene Hymnen besessen hat.*

[275] *Cf. supra*, notes 47-48.

[276] Cf. ŌJNEC'I, "Յաղագս կարգաց եկեղեցւոյ" (De Officiis Ecclesiae) in: *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 83-84; SIWNEC'I, "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 273, 362-364; II, p. 407-408. For the *գործայք* *supra*, text to note 11.

[277] Three times Ōjnec'i refers (on p. 19) to Dan 3:57. Very likely he quotes verse 57 because of its allusion to *գործք*, which includes the refrain *գործք*, as we shall see (*cf. infra*, text to notes 281-282). The canticles probably began as usual with verse 52. Ōjnec'i refers in this context to 1 Kgs 8:47; this passage does not form part of the morning office and is therefore excluded from the outline.

(c) ps 50 : Ողորմեա
(d) ps 148[-150][278] : Տէր յերկնից [then Ōjnec'i continues :]

(e) *And why does he utter twice the same?* ...
(f) *this concerns the* Հարց, *the* գործք, *the* ողորմեա, *and the* տէր յերկնից.
(g) *But right after this [it is necessary] to sing with one accord* (միաբանաբար) *the angelic tune ... Gloria in excelsis*
(f) trisagion[279].

COMMENTS :

1. Each part of the morning office is briefly alluded to. Thus a clear structural outline of the morning synaxis emerges : the two fixed canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths, and the morning psalms 50, 148-150, concluding with Gloria in excelsis and the trisagion[280].

2. The allusion to *uttering twice the same* (e) and the explicit statement that this concerns the Հարց, գործք, ողորմեա, and the տէր յերկնից can mean only one thing : the canticle of Azarias (Dan 3:26ff) with its incipit Հարց (a) *and* troparion Հարց (f), and of the Three Youths (Dan 3:52ff) with its reference to գործք [= verse 57] (b) *and* refrain գործք (f); ps 50 with its incipit ողորմեա (c) *and* troparion ողորմեա (f), and ps 148[-150] with its beginning տէր յերկնից (d) *and* its troparion տէր յերկնից (f). Hence at the time of Ōjnec'i the canticles and psalms were sung *with a refrain* : each canticle and psalm had its own troparion which was used as a refrain.

Գործք is nothing else but the reflection of the slight change in refrain of the canticle of the Three Youths itself : we have already seen that verse 52 b of the canticle is placed as a refrain after each verse (from 52-56), but from verse 57 till the end the canticle has its verse 57b as responsory after each verse :

verse 57a : *Օրհնեցէք ամենայն գործք Տեառն զՏէր :*
Bless the Lord all ye works of the Lord.

57b : Bless and exalt him forever[281].

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[278] Only the incipit of ps 148 is given; the presence of the other pss (149, 150) can be presupposed.

[279] Cf. *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 18-20.

[280] I do not deal with the information about the *sunrise* (արեւագալ) psalm which follows.

[281] *Cf. supra*, text to note 222.

The Armenians, inspired by the text of verse 57, created from it their refrain *գործք*. As verse 57 is part of the canticle of the Three Youths (which begins with verse 52), so is the refrain *գործք* part of the troparion *Հարց*. The troparion *Հարց* includes both canticles, that of Azarias and the Three Youths, whereas in the Armenian Lectionary *Հարց* is restricted to the canticle of the Three Youths [282].

3. *After* the references to the canticles and psalms with their respective troparia (a-d, f) there follows the Gloria in excelsis (g), which is sung straight through, i.e. without a refrain [283], concluding with the trisagion [284].

4. In the 10th chapter of the *Oratio Synodalis* Ōjnec'i has given us an outline of the *ferial* morning office, which leads to two conclusions: a) The troparia are no longer restricted to feasts, but even the ferial office now has troparia. b) The troparia are no longer limited to accompanying only the canticles, but serve also as refrains to the morning psalms 50, 148-150.

The *Oratio Synodalis*, written at the beginning of the 8th century, belongs to the undisputed works of Ōjnec'i. So already by the 8th century, and probably even earlier, there existed a group of troparia attached to the psalms and canticles.

(2) *The evidence in Canons XX and XXIV*

The beginning of canon XX implies that Catholicos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i attempted to unify the structure of the morning office, thus doing away with variant local practices:

> *It befits all to complete the same morning offices*
> *according to the same order and identical with one another* ...;

[then he continues:]
(a) ... [*it is proper*] *to employ*
(b) *the Հարց*
(c) *and the Ողորմեա,*
(d) *and the Տէր յերկինից,*

[282] *Cf. supra*, text to notes 215-225, 235, 237, 244, 246, 263.

[283] Apparently the *De Officiis Ecclesiae* says something similar: "*Without interruption* (*միջնորդ*) *they provide then the Gloria in excelsis*"; cf. Մատենագրութիւնք, p. 85.

[284] For the trisagion cf. WINKLER, "Armenian Night Office I".

(e) *the Gloria in excelsis,*
(f) *then the responsories* (*կցուրդք*) *according to each day* ...
[the respective psalm verses for each day of the week are then indicated].
(g) *Then after the intercessions and collect*
(h) *to sing the trisagion,*
(i) *the doxology* (*փառաբանութիւն*) *together with the hymn* (*կցուրդ*) *of the holy Theotokos*[285] ...

COMMENTS:

1. The references to *Հարց, ողորմեա, տէր յերկնից* (b-d) refer either to the incipits of Dan 3:26/52, pss 50, 148[-150], or to the troparia, since both have the same name. However, in the light of the evidence in the *Oratio Synodalis* it can be surmised that both, the canticles + psalms *and* their respective troparia are meant.

2. Ōjnec'i refers twice to a *կցուրդ*; in one passage *կցուրդ* has to be rendered as *responsory*, which consists of a verse from a psalm (f); in the other passage it means the *hymn* to the Mother of God (i). This hymn to the Theotokos is probably the same as the one in the *ժամագիրք* (*horologion*) p. 306[286]. It also follows the trisagion:
Փառաւորեալ եւ օրհնեալ միշտ սուրբ կոյս աստուածածին ...
Glorified and praised [*be*] *the ever holy virgin, the mother of God* ...
From this we can infer two things: a) besides the troparia of the canticles and the psalms there existed a hymn (*կցուրդ*) to the Theotokos; b) at the time of Ōjnec'i the term *կցուրդ* no longer refers exclusively to a psalm verse, but can also mean a hymn.

Canon XXIV deals with the morning office of Sunday:

> *But the mornings of the day of the Lord*
> *carry their* [*own*] *order, purposely designed for such* [*days*].

(a) *After the Հարց* [*it is proper*]
(b) *to sing the Magnificat* ...
(c) [Then 3 pss are quoted, followed by a reference to the gospel and other elements of the morning, then:]
(d) *It is befitting to sing after the Gloria in excelsis*
(e) *the յարութիւն* [= hymn: "*Resurrection*"].

[285] Cf. *Մատենագրութիւնք*, 28-29.
[286] I owe this idea to my student, Kh. Barsamian.

(f) *Besides [it is proper] to employ the "Holy God"* [= trisagion],
(g) *together with the hymn (կցուրդ) of the holy virgin*[287] ...

COMMENTS:

Enough has been said already about *Հարց* (a), the Magnificat (b)[288], and the trisagion with the hymn to the Theotokos (g). There is a new hymn mentioned[289], however, which proves that by the 8th century

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[287] Cf. *Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 29-30.

[288] *Cf. supra*, text after notes 104, 146, 158-159.

[289] Kh. Barsamian suggests that the *յարութիւն* probably refers to the hymn which in the *Ժամագիրք* (*Horologion*, p. 282) also follows the Gloria in excelsis: *Զյարութիւն փրկչին օրհնեսցուք* ···(*The resurrection of our redeemer let us praise ...*). I suspect that this hymn with its strong paschal overtones was once perhaps not sung at this place, but in closer connection with the gospel of the resurrection. Something similar has to be said, for example, in regard to two (*տէր յերկնից*) troparia which now accompany the pss 148-150 (I quote these two troparia from PETERMANN, "Musik der Armenier", p. 370-377, who took them from the *շարական* of Constantinople, p. 348f, 362):

1) *Առաւօտեան սուրբ կանայքն Հանդերձ իւղովք և խնկովք. եկին 'ի սուրբ գերեզմանն. և ողբալով խնդրէին զանմահ փառաց Թագաւորն :*
2) *Եւ 'ի ձայնէ Հրեշտակին՝ զուարճացան տրտմազգեցքն. առաւօտեան սուրբ կանայք զի՞ խնդրէք ըզկենդանին ընդ մեռեալս յարեաւ փառաց Թագաւորն :*
3) *Աստուածասէր սուրբ կանայք փութացարուք Հետեւել. պատմօղ լինիլ պետրոսի և յովհաննու սիրելւոյ յարեաւ փառաց Թագաւորն.*

1) Matutinae (i.e. mane surgentes) sanctae mulieres cum oleis et aromatibus venerunt in sanctum sepulcrum, et lamentando quaerebant immortalem gloriae Regem.
2) Et per vocem Angeli exhilaratae sunt luctu indutae; matutinae sanctae mulieres: Quid quaeritis vivum apud mortuos? resurrexit gloriae Rex.
3) Deum amantes (vel "Deo dilectae") sanctae mulieres, festinate sequentes (i.e. eundo, currendo) narrare Petro et Joanni dilecto; resurrexit gloriae Rex.

and:

1) *Հրաշալի յարութիւնն ըզպահապանսըն զարհուրեցոյց և Հրեշտակն 'ի յերկնից իջեալ 'ի ձայն ահեղ յարութեան աստուածորդւոյն՝ կանանց աւետէր. յարեաւ աստուած :*
2) *'Ի ձայնէ Հրեշտակին զուարճացան տրտմազգեցք կանայք և դարձան խըն-դութեամբ ետուն աւետիս առաքելոցն, եթէ յարեաւ նախապատմեալն :*
3) *Եկայք լուսազգեցք յօրհնութիւն նոր օրհնեսցուք ըզտէր, քանզի մարմինն որ 'ի մէնջ էառ 'ի Հրեշտակաց երկրպագութիւն առնու 'ի սրովբէից և 'ի քրովբէից :*

1) Miraculosa resurrectio custodes perterruit, et Angelus e coelis descendens per vocem terribilem resurrectionis filii Dei mulieribus nuntiabat; resurrexit Deus.
2) Voce Angeli gavisae sunt luctu indutae mulieres, et redierunt cum laetitia, dederunt nuntium Apostolis, quod resurrexit, qui antea dixerat.
3) Venite luce induti, laude nova laudemus Dominum, quoniam corpus, quod a nobis accepit, ab angelis adorationem accipit, a Seraphim et a Cherubim.

The problem of the original place of these hymns has to be investigated in greater detail in a separate study. They probably belong to the gospel of the resurrection.

the festive and ferial office had several hymns even apart from the already mentioned troparia of the canticles and psalms. The slow, but steady accumulation of hymns is no longer restricted to the high feasts, but includes the Sunday and the ferial offices. This process must have taken some time. We have to assume that the increase in hymns began already by the 7th century. The validity of Kirakos Ganjakec'i's report about the increase of troparia and the great variety of different hymns during the middle of the 7th century can therefore no longer be questioned as has been done previously[290].

(3) *The tesimony of De Officiis Ecclesiae, attributed to Ōjnec'i, and the Expositio of Siwnec'i*

These two documents are interdependent[291], so it is not surprising to find similar indications in both of them. For example both interpret the 7 *գորղայք*[292] of the nocturnal *psalmodia currens* as the seven ages, and the variable canticle, as the eighth age of resurrection[293]. Nothing is said about the troparion which accompanies the canticle of the night office. This should not be overrated, because the troparion is still subordinated to the canticle (and the psalms).

Both sources agree with the other writings of Ōjnec'i in the content and sequence of the various parts of the office: explicitly mentioned are the canticles of the Three Youths; on Sundays the Magnificat and then the morning psalms 50, 148-150 follow. Both also allude to hymns[294], confirming thus the evidence in the *Oratio Synodalis* and the *Canones*.

Summary of the evidence in Ōjnec'i an Siwnec'i

1. By the end of the 7th century the troparia are no longer limited to the high feasts of Christ and to the 3 canticles (1 variable, 2 fixed

[290] *Cf. supra*, note 252.

[291] *Cf. supra*, text to notes 47-48.

[292] *Cf. supra*, text to note 11.

[293] *Cf. supra*, note 276; the same idea is also expressed in "*Յաղագս գիշերային ժամուն*" (About the Night Office) in :*Մատենագրութիւնք*, p. 110.

[294] Cf. "*Մեկնութիւն*" (Commentary) I, p. 488: "... *he relishes the daily canticles of the Three Youths and the hymn* (օրհնութիւն) *of the resurrection of the dead*"; p. 489: "... *to sing the praise* (օրհնութիւն) of the all-holy trinity". In *De Officiis Ecclesiae* (p. 87, in the context of quoting ps 148) the following allusion is made: "*They praise the Lord with a new song* (օրհնութիւն), *a praise unto him from the holy Church*".

ones), but even the morning psalms of the ferial office have their troparia.

2. The following troparia existed at this time: *օրհնութիւն* for the variable canticle at the end of the night office[295], *հարց* (including *գործք*) for the 2 fixed canticles of Azarias and the Three Youths, and the troparia for the morning psalms 50, 148-150, namely *ողորմեա* and *տէր յերկնից*. The oldest troparia apparently are those which belong to the canticles: *օրհնութիւն* and *հարց*, including probably also *գործք*. The troparia for the morning psalms are perhaps of a slightly later date. It also seems that the troparia of pss 50, 148-150 are older than the rest of the troparia for the daily offices, such as the *մեծացուսցէ*, *մանկունք*, *ճաշու*, and *համբարձի* (*cf. supra*, outline of the present *kanon* of troparia)[296].

3. We assumed that the NT canticle (the Magnificat) was added to the canticles of Dan 3 by the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century. This new canticle was still restricted to the Sunday vigil, in contrast to Dan 3 which was already taken over into the ferial morning office. The Magnificat still did not have its own troparion at the beginning of the 8th century[297].

4. There can be little doubt that these troparia (*շարականք*) grew out of the *կցուրդ* (*responsory*).

5. Apart from the troparia mentioned above there existed other hymns which are referred to as *կցուրդ*, and sometimes also as *օրհնութիւն*[298]. Hence we observe a considerable variety of hymnodic material already by the end of the 7th century. With regard to the terminology we saw that the *կցուրդ* and the *օրհնութիւն* had assumed a broader meaning. Originally the *կցուրդ* meant a psalm verse used as *responsorium*. Then even non-biblical refrains were called *կցուրդ*, as for example the *հարց* in the Armenian Lectionary. Further, the term

[295] Nothing is said explicitly about this troparion of the variable canticle. Yet the presence of *հարց* and *գործք* for Dan 3, and the presence of the troparia for the morning psalms, make it highly probable that the canticle of the night office also had its troparion.

[296] For their history cf. ČEMČEMEAN, p. 200ff.

[297] TER-MIKAËLIAN (p. 5) informs us that a number of *kanons* indicate no troparion for the Magnificat, which means that this canticle was sung without a troparion for some time. As a matter of fact this troparion appeared only after Nersēs Šnorhali (12th cent.). For the history of its appearance in the manuscript tradition see ČEMČEMEAN, p. 200-201.

[298] *Cf. supra*, note 294.

օրհնութիւն, which originally referred to the 3 OT canticles, is by the 8th century also applied to hymns in general.

This growing abundance of hymns eventually required some organization. This led to the formation of the actual *kanon of troparia* (*կանոն շարականաց*) for the feasts, the Sundays, and the ferial office, and also to the systematic collection of these troparia in the *շարակնոց* (= *tropologion*, not *hymnarium*)[299].

(4) *The organization of the troparia in a kanon*

The Armenian tradition, which connects the organization of the *շարականներ* (*troparia*) into *kanons* with Step'annos Siwnec'i, has to be considered historically reliable in this attribution. The arrangement of a *kanon* of troparia presupposes the existence of a considerable number of hymns: the necessity of organizing the existing troparia can only be felt if there are so many hymns that they have to be grouped together somehow in a series of hymns, which was then called the "kanon of troparia". Hence it does not seem possible to maintain on the one hand that the *kanon* was organized by Siwnec'i, and on the other to insist that at this period there still existed only a few hymns restricted to the high feasts[300]. The evidence of the presence of troparia even in the daily morning office makes it quite likely that by the time of Siwnec'i it became necessary to organize the hymns. Kirakos Ganjakec'i, who had reported the involvement of Nersēs Šinoł in the selection of the appropriate troparia (*cf. supra*), also narrates that Step'annos Siwnec'i "composed spiritual songs (*երգք հոգեւորք*) with sweet melodies, troparia (*շարականք*), *կցուրդք* (= responsories or hymns) and songs (*երգք*)"[301]. More extensive details about Siwnec'i's activities are offered by Step'annos Ōrbelean (13th cent.) in his *History of the Province of Sis* (*Պատմութիւն նահանգին Սիսական*):

[299] According to HUSMANN ("Die Gesänge der armenischen Liturgie", p. 99) the oldest *շարակնոց* goes back to 1019 (= *Codex 1535* of Ējmiacin). Why Ter-Mikaēlian (who came from Ējmiacin) never refers to this *tropologion* in his study is puzzling. He examines (on p. 32ff) in great detail the oldest *tropologion* of the Vienna collection, *Codex 202* (*olim 157*) of the 14th century, basing his conclusions entirely on this manuscript.

[300] So ABELEAN, p. 510-514.

[301] Quoted in ABELEAN, p. 513; TER-MIKAĒLIAN, p. 69 (erroneously dating Siwnec'i in the second half of the 8th cent. instead of the 7th-8th cent.).

(a) *[Siwnec'i] divided* (բաժանեաց) *the eight tones* (ձայնսն)
(b) *and arranged* (կարգեաց) *[them]*;
(c) *and he put in order* (շարեաց) *the troparia* (շարականս),.....
(d) *[and] the hymns* (օրհնութիւնսն) *of the resurrection*;
(e) *he also sang delicate* կցուրդս (*= responsories* or *hymns*);
(f) *he also adapted* (յարմարեաց) *the stichos* (ստողոգի) *of the Easter time to the seven* [sic] *modes* (եղանակօք),
(g) ... *and of the fast which are sung in Lent*[302].

For the moment we shall focus our attention on the statement about the organization of the troparia (c), leaving aside the references to the musical arrangements (a-b, f-g)[303]. It is said that Siwnec'i "put the troparia in order" (c). Siwnec'i's reform may have entailed some similar activity as the selection of the appropriate troparia under the catholicosate of Nersēs in the middle of the 7th century. It was mentioned already in this context that the reform may have had something to do with Armenia's definitive break with Chalcedon. The Armenian hierarchy probably sifted through the extant hymns to see whether or not they reflected the christological tenets of the Armenian Church.

The 7th century in particular seemed to have brought forth an abundance of new troparia which eventually required some sort of organization. Therefore it may have indeed been Siwnec'i who undertook this task of arranging the extant troparia into the first *kanons*. I mentioned already that the first nucleus of the later *kanon* probably consisted of those troparia which were sung with the 3 canticles. The troparia then expanded very soon to the morning psalms, including thus the troparia for the pss 50 and 148-150. Siwnec'i's organization

[302] ŌRBELEAN, Պատմութիւն (*History*), quoted in ABELEAN, p. 513.

[303] At the beginning it is said (a) that Siwnec'i divided and arranged the *eight* tones, whereas later (f) reference is made to the *seven* modes. I do not know how to reconcile these two contradictory statements. Grigor Tat'ewac'i also speaks unmistakably about the *seven* tones while mentioning Siwnec'i's involvement in the creation of the Easter troparia; cf. TER-MIKAELIAN, p. 71/73, 89; *cf. infra*, note 336. The *oktoechos* as well as the *kontakion* and the *kanon* derive from Syro-Palestine. The eight modes are ascribed to John Damascene (7th-8th cent.); yet the Byzantine *oktoechos* seems to go back to the *oktoechos* of Severus of Antioch (512-519), as Baumstark pointed out (*Festbrevier*, p. 46-46); E. WELLESZ, *A History of Music and Hymnography* (Oxford 1961), p. 44. For studies on the Armenian *oktoechos* cf. N. SERKOYAN, N. TAHMIZIAN, and B. OUTTIER, "Recherches sur la genèse de l'octoéchos arménien", *Études Grégoriennes* 14 (1973), p. 128-211.

of *kanons* for individual feasts, Sundays, and ferial days must have included, then, the troparia for the canticles of the night and morning office, and the troparia for the psalms of the morning office: pss 50, 148-150. In another non-chalcedonian tradition, the Jacobite communities of West-Syria, we find the same pattern, namely a refrain (*'enyana*) attached to the canticle and the morning psalms 50, 148-150[304]. Baumstark, who had such extraordinary sensitivity for the interdependence of the different rites, saw with penetrating clarity that whenever there is congruency between West-Syria and Armenia, the common roots of both are often in Jerusalem: ... *gerade wo westsyrische und armenische Weise Hand in Hand gehen, wird ... nur Jerusalem als die gemeinsame Wiege des beiderseitigen Brauches in Betracht kommen können*[305]. We can formulate the same law with regard to the congruency between Armenian and Byzantine liturgical practices: their common origins lie in West-Syria, often in Jerusalem, as we tried to demonstrate in our discussion of the origins of the Byzantine and Armenian *kanon* of troparia. The Armenian *kanon* does not derive from the Byzantine, as had been suggested, but the antecedents of both lie in Jerusalem[306].

Besides the general organization of the troparia (c) Siwnec'i also arranged the hymns (*օրհնութիւնք*) of the resurrection (d). *Օրհնութիւն* can mean here either canticle or hymn. In this context it probably refers to the hymns in general, not to the canticles. We have seen already that by the time of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i the term is no longer restricted to the canticles. Something similar has to be said about the *կցուրդ* (e): it can refer to responsories, but it can also mean the non-biblical poetry. So both terms, *օրհնութիւն* and *կցուրդ*, had assumed a broader meaning by the end of the 7th century[307].

Hand in hand with the accumulation of hymns and the broadening of the terminology for these hymns, goes the slow but steadily increasing independence of these troparia vis à vis the canticles and the psalms to which they were once attached as a subordinate element.

The organization of these troparia in the respective *kanons* and

[304] Cf. Baumstark, *Nocturna Laus*, p. 126, 177, 190, 196; Idem, *Festbrevier*, p. 72-73, 112, 128.

[305] Baumstark, *Festbrevier*, p. 158.

[306] We also observed a similar law in regard to the Byzantine *hexapsalmos* and the Armenian invitatory; cf. Winkler, "Armenian Night Office I".

[307] *Cf. supra*, text to note 298.

the general increase of hymns led subsequently to two further developments in the night office:

a) the disappearance of the *variable* canticle of գիշերային (*night office*)[308]; the fixed canticles which open the morning synaxis were retained

b) the increasing restriction of the number of psalms recited each night, until eventually the nocturnal *psalmodia currens* was reduced to the so-called կանոնագլուխ, i.e. a few psalm verses of the numerical psalmody.

Thus the very heart of the night office, the recitation of the psalms in numerical order, became supplanted by secondary elements, the hymns[309]. This is also true for the Syrians; they as well reduced their nocturnal psalmody to a few psalm verses or eliminated it altogether. In Armenia we see the beginning of this tendency in the growing independence of the troparia after the 8th century, a trend that reaches its peak in the time of Nersēs Šnorhali (1102-1173)[310] with the formation of the կանոն շարականաց (*kanon of troparia*). Thus it must have been after Nersēs that the monastic psalmody slowly began to crumble under the weight of the insertion of more and more hymns into the office. The disintegration of the psalmody into the կանոնագլուխ (i.e. a few verses of a psalm) cannot have happened during the time of Ōjnec'i. It is unlikely that the short description of the night office (*Սակս գիշերային ժամու*) with its reference to the կանոնագլուխ[311] was actually written by Ōjnec'i. It belongs to a much later period. This short survey on the night office was probably composed after Nersēs Šnorhali's life time.

[308] I doubt whether that has already happened at the time of Siwnec'i; so ŌRMANEAN, p. 260 (who suggested that it was Siwnec'i who substituted the nocturnal canticle with the troparia).

[309] For a general survey cf. BAUMSTARK's various contributions: *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie* (Freiburg 1923), p. 103-115; *Comparative Liturgy*, p. 92-110; *Festbrevier*, p. 44-53, 62-84; *Nocturna Laus*, p. 126. The subject matter is particularly well treated in *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*: *Von Hause aus bestimmt, als dienender Schmuck ... zu wirken, bekundet sich überall die Neigung in immer reicheren Massen sich verhüllend um die klare Linienführung ... zu legen, wie Efeu sich um ... altes Gemäuer rankt, und ... langsam aber sicher seinen Bestand bedroht ... Das Endergebnis ... war, dass im morgenländischen Tagzeitengebet die Last des poetischen Stoffes vielfach die Psalmodie geradezu erdrückt hat ... Was bestimmt war, als schmückendes Rankenwerk zu wirken, ist gestrüppartig wuchernder Wildwuchs geworden* ... (p. 103, 109f).

[310] It was our aim to clarify the origins and first growth of the troparia; the further development of the *kanon* into the systematic collection of troparia in the շարակնոց (*tropologion*) requires a separate study. Meanwhile the research of Ter-Mikaēlian, Čemčemean and Amatuni can be consulted (*cf. supra*, note 2).

[311] *Cf. supra*, text to notes 49-59.

SUMMARY ON THE ORIGINS AND FURTHER EVOLUTION OF ARMENIA'S HYMNOGRAPHY

Krumbacher gave an outline of the development of the Byzantine ecclesiastical poetry, distinguishing three different stages[312]. In the historical development of Armenia's hymnography only one distinction had been made previously, namely a distinction between the hymns before and after Nersēs Šnorhali (1102-1173). Ter-Mikaēlian and Čemčemean speak of a pre-Šnorhalian and post-Šnorhalian *շարակնոց*[313] (= *tropologion*, not *hymnarium* as Ter-Mikaēlian had us believe[314]), perceiving Nersēs as the prime mover in the formation of the *շարակնոց* (*tropologion*). Examining the origins and early evolution of the *շարականներ* (*troparia*) in greater detail, including also the history of the *կցուրդ* (*responsorium*) and the formation of the "*kanon* of troparia» in its earliest stages, I came to the conclusion that in the evolution of Armenian hymnography several periods can be discerned, which I would class in four distinctive periods. That this is a highly tentative ordering of the hymnodic material goes without saying. We are still far from a definitive view on the history of the Armenian hymns. The following outline has thus to be considered a preliminary attempt to sketch the organic growth of Armenia's hymnography. We base our outline particularly on the evolution of the *շարական* (*troparion*). The *շարական* is one of the most significant categories of hymns which developed out of the responsories (*կցուրդք*) to the canticles and the psalmody. Yet there exists, it seems, another category of hymns which is not associated with the psalmody or the canticles, but is independent of them. Our knowledge about the origins and further development of these hymns is extremely fragmentary[315].

(I) The initial period (4th-5th cent.) is characterized by short responsories, the *կցուրդք*, which are sung with the psalms, including the 3 canticles of the Easter vigil. Initially the responses were taken from

[312] Cf. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (ed. of 1891), p. 309-323.

[313] Cf. TER-MIKAELIAN, p. 46-47, 50; ČEMČEMEAN, "*Շարակնոցները*" (*Tropologia*), p. 193ff.

[314] *Cf. supra*, text to notes 239-240.

[315] These hymns are the Christian version of the OT psalms. Of this type of hymn only the Hymn of the Pearl and the Odes of Solomon have survived (*cf. infra*). It seems as if the OT psalmody actually supplanted these archaic Christian hymns by the 4th century. Traces of this old hymnography have survived only in Syria.

the psalms and the canticles themselves, but soon non-biblical refrains were used for the canticles in order to highlight the theological meaning of the high feasts such as Easter and Epiphany. The origin of the name for these troparia, i.e. the *շարականք*, also seems to be closely connected with the 3 canticles of the Easter and Sunday vigil; both vigils commemorate the resurrection of Christ with 3 canticles (sometimes also 3 pss) in connection with the readings. The term *շարական* may well derive from the Syriac ܫܗܪܐ (*[songs of the] vigil*), pointing thus to the Sunday vigil with its 3 canticles and respective troparia, which in the East-Syrian tradition is called *qale d-šahra* (*songs of the vigil*). Hence the oldest troparia are those which are sung as responsories to the 3 canticles, as the Armenian Lectionary also indicates. The oldest troparia are then *օրհնութիւն*, *Հարց*, probably including also *գործք*, which accompany the canticles of Moses (Ex 15:1 ff), Azarias (Dan 3:26 ff), and the Three Youths (Dan 3:52 ff). In addition, the antecedents for the later organization of the *շարականք* (*troparia*) in the *kanon* are the troparia for the 3 OT canticles of the Easter vigil, which were taken over by the Sunday vigil. These troparia are seemingly older than the troparia for the morning psalms (50, 148-150). The first nucleus of the Armenian *kanon* of troparia consists of the troparia sung with the canticles, as a comparison with the Byzantine *kanon* of the 9 odes (3 + 3 + 3) shows. The origins of both *kanons* lie in Syro-Palestine, more precisely in the Easter and Sunday vigils of Jerusalem. The composition of the troparia for the canticles antedates the artificial split of the 3 canticles into a variable canticle (which became attached to the nocturnal psalmody) and the two fixed canticles of the Sunday morning office (which eventually entered the ferial office as well).

The *շարականներ* consist of that poetry which first developed in connection with the canticles, including later the morning psalms and eventually also a psalm of the evening office. Yet there is another category of hymns, as was mentioned already, which is independent of the canticles and psalmody, and which is as old as the use of the psalms in the office, since these hymns represent the Christian version of the OT psalms. Of this category only the Hymn of the Pearl and the Odes of Solomon have come down to us[316]. There can be no doubt

[316] The following editions could be consulted: P.-H. POIRIER, *L'hymne de la Perle des Actes de Thomas. Introduction, texte, traduction, commentaire* (= Homo religiosus 8, Louvain 1981); J.H. CHARLESWORTH, *The Odes of Solomon: The Syriac Texts*

that the Odes of Solomon, which originated in second century Syria[317], belong in a baptismal context[318]. We know almost nothing about this type of hymnography, and nothing at all about its survival in Armenia. Yet I suspect that some of the Armenian baptismal hymns are very old, as an analysis of their theological content indicates[319]. The main characteristic of these Armenian hymns is their close relationship with the baptismal theology of Syria, as I have tried to demonstrate[320]. The next step would be to investigate the hymns of Epiphany with its celebration of Jesus' descent into the river Jordan[321]. Perhaps this will shed new light on some of the pecularities of those hymns of Syria and Armenia which originated outside the context of the psalmody and canticles.

(2) The second period (end of 5th to middle of the 7th cent.) is determined by the growing hymnodic material in connection with the christological controversies. The main bulk of troparia evolves at first around the high feasts of the Lord during the 5th and beginning of 6th century. With the christological disputes these hymns are used to express the theological interpretation of the feasts, giving them at the same time greater solemity. Especially the non-chalcedonian communities seem to have augmented the number of hymns as the so-called

Edited with Translation and Notes (2nd. ed. Missoula 1977); M. Lattke, *Die Oden Salomos in ihrer Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis*, Band Ia: *Der syrische Text der Edition in Estrangelā. Faksimile des griechischen Papyrus Bodmer XI*; Band I: *Ausführliche Handschriftenbeschreibung. Edition mit deutscher Parallel-Übersetzung. Hermeneutischer Anhang zur gnostischen Interpretation der Oden Salomos in der Pistis Sophia*; Band II: *Vollständige Wortkonkordanz zur handschriftlichen, griechischen, koptischen, lateinischen und syrischen Überlieferung der Oden Salomos mit einem Faksimile des Kodex N* (= Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 25/1a-2, Fribourg, Göttingen 1979-1980); the introduction to the older edition of R. Harris and A. Mingana (*The Odes and Psalms of Solomon Re-Edited*, 2 vols. Manchester, London 1920) contains indispensable material for the study of the Odes.

[317] Recently H.J.W. Drijvers suggested the 3rd century as the date of compilation in his talk delivered at the *Eighth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 3-8 September 1979*; "The Christology of the Odes of Solomon".

[318] One of my students, M. Pierce, has critiqued J.H. Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon* (Texts and Studies 8, London 1912) in a study to appear in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*.

[319] Cf. G. Winkler, "Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier. Ihre Affinität mit syrischem Gedankengut" to appear in the *Festschrift* for W. Dürig (ed. H. Becker); Eadem, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, p. 455-462.

[320] *Ibid.*

[321] Baumstark, *Festbrevier*, p. 71, considers also the Byzantine hymns for Epiphany and Christmas as very old: *vor allem gewisse hochaltertümliche Gesänge namentlich ihrer Weihnachts- und Epiphanienvesper haben diese Entwicklungsstufe festgehalten.*

oktoechos of Severus of Antioch demonstrates[322]. The Armenian expansion of the trisagion and the ὁ μονογενής of the Byzantine liturgy belong to this period[323]. But also the reform of Catholicos Nersēs Šinoł has to be mentioned in this context. By the middle of the 7th century the Armenian hierarchy restricted the local variety of hymns, selecting very carefully the hymns to be used thereafter throughout the whole Armenian Church. During the 7th century these troparia must have steadily increased, and they were probably no longer limited to the canticles, but included very likely also the morning psalms 50, 148-150. It may also be assumed that even the ferial office had its troparia by then. Moreover, new forms of poetry emerge, which are not connected with the psalmody, like the *kontakion* in Byzantine worship. This versified homily[324], which had its heydays during the 6th century, has its roots in Syria as is well known.

(3) The formation of the Armenian and Byzantine *kanon* inaugurates the third period (end of 7th to 9th cent.). All testimony converges in indicating that by the turn to the 8th century the greatly increased number of hymns required some sort of organization. The troparia were grouped in the various *kanons*, which became associated with Step'annos Siwnec'i. From this period stem also the first evidence about the troparia of the morning psalms (50, 148-150). I suspect, though, that already prior to Ōjnec'i's evidence the morning psalms were sung with troparia. When precisely these troparia began to appear we do not know. Thus the Armenian *kanon* includes not only the troparia of the canticles (1 variable ode in connection with the noctural psalmody; and 2 fixed ones, Azarias and the Three Youths, in the morning office), but also the troparia of the morning psalms, whereas the Byzantine *kanon* remains restricted to the troparia of the 9 odes (3 + 3 + 3). Later on the Armenian *kanon* will also include the other troparia for the morning and evening office (*cf. supra*, outline of the present *kanon*).

Already by the time of Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i we observed other hymns, like the hymn to the Theotokos, which is referred to as *կցուրդ*. But there are also other hymnodic elements at the end of the morning office, which sometimes are called *օրհնութիւն*. Thus the terms *կցուրդ* and *օրհնութիւն* have assumed a broader meaning, and are no longer

322 *Ibid.*, p. 44-46.
323 *Cf. supra*, note 251.
324 Cf. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 264, 425-426.

restricted to the *responsories* (կցուրդք) and *canticles* (օրհնութիւնք) as in the 5th century.

Moreover the development of the Armenian and Byzantine *oktoechos* belongs to this period. Its origins lie again in Syro-Palestine. The heyday of Byzantine hymnography has ended by the 11th century, and decadence sets in[325].

(4) In Armenia we observe with the fourth period (10-14th cent.) a new *Blütezeit* in poetry. It includes the famous *Lamentations* of Grigor Narekac'i (ca 945-1003), Armenia's greatest mystic, and reaches its peak by the 12th century with Nersēs Šnorhali (1102-1173)[326]. Also Nersēs Lambronac'i (1153-1198) has to be mentioned in this context[327]. In the fourth period also other hymns developed, like the երգեր (*hymns*) and տաղեր (*songs*), which were collected in the երգարան (= *hymnarium*) and the տաղարան (*song-book*)[328]. The flowering of Armenia's hymnography comes to an end by the 14th century with the victory of the monasteries of Eastern Armenia over the innovative and westernizing ecclesial centres of Cilicia[329].

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The Armenian night office comprises 3 major parts (*cf. supra*, structural outline): A. The opening of the office with its doxology, invitatory, and intercessions, B. the original core of the night office, namely the recitation of the psalms in numerical order, beginning with the same doxology as at the very opening of the office and ending with the canticle and troparion, C. the conclusion of the office with its intercessions, final chants and prayers. This last part of the office has not been included in our investigation.

The opening of the office

In the first part of the article about the nocturnal synaxis ("Armenian

[325] For an excellent overview cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (ed. of 1891), p. 308-323.

[326] Cf. Ter-Mikaëlian, p. 33ff, 43ff, 47ff, 50f, 69f.

[327] *Ibid.*, p. 49f.

[328] *Cf. supra*, note 241.

[329] For the rivalry between Eastern and Western monasteries cf. Ter-Mikaëlian, p. 53-54.

Night Office I") I attempted to show that the Armenians have preserved the oldest structure of the introductory part of the night office, in comparison with the more developed shape of the corresponding part of the Syrian and Byzantine office. This becomes particularly evident in the shape of the initial doxology and the invitatory. There exist at present several doxologies at the opening of the night office. I will go into the doxology once more in greater detail since I would like to add some further considerations to my conclusions in the "Armenian Night Office I". In order to follow the comments more easily, I shall present an outline of their sequence, chief characteristic, and place in the present horologion:

sequence	*characteristic*	*place in the horologion*
— *doxology* I (= V)	christological	p. 15
Pater noster		
— *doxology* II	ps 50:17	p. 16
— *doxology* III	unity of the trinity	p. 16
invitatory (pss 3 87 102 142)		
— *doxology* IV	little doxology which is always trinitarian	p. 24
hymns and intercessions		
— *doxology* V (= I)	christological	p. 40
psalmody in numerical order		

Doxology I (= V)

The wording of this doxology is as follows: *Օրհնեալ տէր մեր Յիսուս Քրիստոս. ամէն* (*Blessed* [*is/be*] *our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen*). This doxology opens the *fixed* psalmody (i.e. the invitatory), as it also opens the *variable* group of psalms, in the following form:

> *Blessed* [*is/be*] *our Lord, Jesus Christ. Amen.*
> *Alleluia. Alleluia.* [*Alleluia.*]
> followed by the variable psalmody in numerical order.

All that precedes doxology V has to be considered as secondary. Thus A of our outline (= doxology + fixed psalmody, i.e. the invitatory) is nothing but a duplication of B (= doxology + variable psalmody).

The initial doxology V = I is the oldest doxology, as I tried to demonstrate. In its peculiar christological shape it is characteristic of Armenian worship and shared by no other rite. The non-trinitarian form, however, exists also among the Syrians. Baumstark indicated the following doxology for the West-Syrian (Jacobite) office:

Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia.
Lob sei Dir Gott[330].

The combination with the alleluia we also noted for the Armenian doxology V (*cf. supra*). Among the Syrians another non-trinitarian doxology is widespread. In the East-Syrian tradition the Gloria in excelsis (Lk 2:14) opens the night office (*lelya*). But also the Byzantine (sabaitic) *orthros* has a non-trinitarian doxology as its very beginning:

Blessed [is/be] our God at all times,
now and always ...

Hence non-trinitarian, initial doxologies are common among the Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks:

arm: Blessed be our Lord, Jesus Christ
syr: Gloria in excelsis (Lk 2:14) — *cf. also*:
Praise be to you, God
byz: Blessed be our God at all times ...

Thus the oldest non-trinitarian form of the doxology had probably the following wording: *Blessed (= praised) be our Lord* (or: *God*) or in its direct address: *Praise be to you, God*. Since this doxology is shared by the Armenians, Syrians, and the (sabaitic) Byzantine tradition, it can only have its origins in Syria, probably going back to a jewish model. This form of doxology has to be reckoned among the oldest Christian doxologies. The Armenian version in its peculiar christological shape seemingly reflects a secondary development in comparison with the *syr* + *byz* form of the doxology. Yet the Armenian doxology probably antedates the christological disputes, as I tried to demonstrate. We should not forget that the East-Syrians also open their night office with a doxology which is indirectly christological in its orientation since it is the praise of the angels at the mystery of the incarnation: on the night of Christ's birth the angels sang the Gloria in excelsis in the presence of the shepherds (Lk 2:14).

Doxology II

The initial doxology (I = V) became greatly expanded in all Eastern rites. Doxology II, consisting of ps 50:17 (*Lord if you open my lips,*

[330] I am quoting the text according to BAUMSTARK, "Das syrisch-antiochenische Ferialbrevier", *Der Katholik* 26 (1902), p. 406.

my mouth will sing your praise) forms a bridge to the invitatory. The development of the invitatory is nothing but a duplication of the initial doxology (I). Its original nucleus is probably ps 50:17, to which very soon ps 3 was added. Ps 3 in turn became expanded by the triad of pss 87, 102, 142 before the end of the 7th century. The Armenian invitatory depicts the older form of the Byzantine *hexapsalmos*, which is the heavily expanded invitatory to the *mesonyktikon*. The roots of both invitatories lie again in Syro-Palestine.

Doxology III

This doxology closes ps 50:17, thus separating the invitatorial psalm verse from the invitatory proper. Hence it is another secondary element. This trinitarian doxology seemingly does not belong to the genuine Armenian heritage since it betrays some affinity with a Byzantine doxology:

> *arm*: Blessed [is/be] the consubstantial and united and undivided, holy trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and always ...
>
> (*sabaitic*) *byz*: Glory to the holy, consubstantial, and undivided trinity, now and ...[331]

Doxology IV

This doxology, known as the "little doxology", often concludes a group of psalms. According to Jungmann it stems from 4th century Antioch[332].

Thus all Armenian and the quoted Byzantine doxologies have their roots in Syro-Palestine. Also the invitatory in its Armenian and Byzantine form derives from Syro-Palestine, as I have shown. But that is not all. Even the position of the intercessions after the invitatory, which is also shared by the Armenian night office and Byzantine *orthros*, is of Syro-Palestinian origin. The intercessions originally concluded the synaxis, and their duplication at the beginning of the office is a secondary development[333].

[331] The doxology immediately follows ps 50:17 in the Armenian tradition, whereas in the Byzantine *orthros* it precedes the Gloria in excelsis + ps 50:17.

[332] J.A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet* (= Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 19/20, Münster 1962), p. 154.

[333] The entire conclusion of the office (= part C in my outline) requires a separate study.

HYPOTHETICAL OUTLINE OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARMENIAN OFFICES OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NIGHT AND MORNING

SUNDAY VIGIL = joined offices consisting of :	ORIGINAL STRUCTURE (main elements)[334]	FIRST STAGE IN THE EVOLUTION
NIGHT OFFICE *գիշերային*	doxology variable psalmody	doxology (later expanded) invitatory (ps 3) variable psalmody
CATHEDRAL VIGIL *իւղաբերից*	*3 canticles + responsories* (*կցուրդք*) : — Moses (Ex 15:1) + responsory — Azarias (Dan 3:26) + responsory — 3 Youths (Dan 3:52) + responsory[335] *gospel of burial and resurrection*	*3 canticles + troparia* (*շարականք*) : — Moses (Ex 15:1) + troparion : *օրհնութիւն* — Azarias (Dan 3:26) + troparion : *Հարց* — 3 Youths (Dan 3:52) + troparion : *գործք* (?) *gospel of burial and resurrection*
MORNING OFFICE *առաւօտեան*	pss 50 148-150 Gloria in excelsis (conclusion of office)	pss 50 + troparion : *ողորմեա* 148-150 + troparion : *տէր յերկնից* Gloria in excelsis (conclusion of office)

COMMENTS

Night office :
1. The core is the recitation of psalms.
2. The doxology is christological.

Resurrection office :
1. The canticles + gospel have their roots in the Easter vigil of Jerusalem (cf. Armen. Lectionary).
2. The 3 canticles are sung with their respective responsories, which at first were taken from the text of the canticle itself. Soon, non-biblical refrains are composed which will be called *շարականք troparia*).
3. The 3 responsories to the 3 canticles form the original nucleus of the later *kanon* of troparia.

Morning office :
The morning psalms are still sung without a troparion, i.e. a non-biblical refrain. We dot not know whether they were sung responsorially or antiphonally, or in unison without interruption. The first two alternatives are more probable than the third.

Night office :
The initial part of the office is expanded : ps 50:17 is added to the doxology, forming a bridge to the original nucleus of the invitatory, ps 3.

Resurrection and Morning offices :
1. Development of the troparia, i.e. ecclesiastical poetry, attached to the canticles + psalms.
2. The names of the troparia are derived from the incipits of the canticles + psalms.
3. The canticle of Moses is the Easter canticle par excellence ; hence it is simply referred to as *օրհնութիւն* (*canticle*).
4. In the Armenian Lectionary *Հարց* belongs originally to the canticle of the Three Youths ; later it is the troparion of Dan 3 in general. *Գործք* is inspired by Dan 3:57 and now forms part of *Հարց*.
5. The original corpus of troparia has been expanded to include also the troparia of the morning psalms. This group of troparia for the 3 canticles and the psalms will lead to the first "*kanon* of troparia".

334-335 : see these notes p. 551.

[Sunday] SECOND STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT (end of 6th or beginning of 7th c.)	Excursus: the *ferial* office of the 7th cent.	[Sunday] THIRD STAGE (end of 7th to beginning of 8th cent.)
	[NIGHT OFFICE:]	
doxology	doxology	doxology
invitatory (becomes expanded: pss 3 87 102 142)	invitatory	invitatory
variable psalmody	variable psalmody	variable psalmody
+ 1 *variable* canticle + troparion (օրհնութիւն)	+ 1 variable canticle (+ troparion?)	+ 1 variable canticle + troparion
Azarias + troparion (Հարց)		Azarias + troparion
Three Youths + troparion (գործք ?)		Three Youths + troparion
		Magnificat
gospel of burial and resurrection		gospel of burial and resurrection
	[MORNING OFFICE:]	
	Azarias (+ troparion?)	
	Three Youths (+ troparion?)	
pss 50 + troparion (ողորմեա)	pss 50 (+ troparion?)	pss 50 + troparion
148-150 + troparion (տէր յերկնից)	148-150 (+ troparion?)	148-150 + troparion
Gloria in excelsis	Gloria in excelsis	Gloria in excelsis
(conclusion of office)	(conclusion of office)	at the end of office: hymns (կցուրդ, օրհնութիւն)

COMMENTS

Second stage:

1. The original transparent structure of, and distinction between, monastic night office + cathedral vigil becomes obscured by adding a canticle (+ troparion) to the nocturnal psalmody.
2. As the psalms vary each night so does the canticle vary now. The shift of the canticle opened the path to expanding the number of cantica: each night the variable group of psalms ends with a variable canticle. The incipit of the variable canticle remains that of the canticle of Moses; i.e. the variable canticle begins (to the present day) with Ex 15:1, as just the name for the troparion remains օրհնութիւն.
3. We do not know how the psalter was divided. The division into 8 *kanons* certainly is not original, perhaps the psalms were once divided into 7(?) *kanons*.
4. To the original invitatory, ps 3, a triad of pss (87 102 142) is added.

Excursus:

1. So influential was the office of resurrection that even the ferial office became patterned after it: the canticles, which originally belonged to the Sunday cathedral vigil, are now present also in the ferial office: 2 canticles opening the morning office, 1 variable canticle closing the night office.
2. The canticles and perhaps even the morning psalms could already have had troparia.

Third stage:

1. The great variety of troparia becomes organized into *kanons*.
2. Additional hymnodic material appears at the conclusion of the office.
3. The first NT canticle (*Magnificat*) appears.

4th STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT (12th-13th cent.)[336]	5th STAGE (after 13th cent.)
doxology + invitatory	doxology + invitatory
several hymns are inserted	hymns
variable psalmody	DISINTEGRATION OF PSALMODY
	INSERTION OF THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD
+ 1 variable caticle + troparion	canticle is replaced by troparion
	canticles expanded:
Azarias + troparion	— Azarias + troparion
Three Youths + troparion	— Three Youths + troparion
Magnificat + troparion	— Magnificat + troparion
	— Zachariah + troparion
	— Simeon + troparion
gospel of burial and resurrection	gospel of burial + resurrection
pss 50 + troparion	pss 50 + troparion
148-150 + troparion	148-150 + troparion
Gloria in excelsis	Gloria in excelsis
increase of hymns at the end	increase of hymns at the end

COMMENTS

Night office:

1. The accumulation of hymns at various parts of the office during the high middle ages brought about the disintegration of the original main element of the night office: the recitation of the psalms is reduced to a few psalm verses, the *կանոնագլուխ*.
   (For the inclusion of additional hymns at the *beginning* of the night office cf. "Armenian Night office I": notes 65-66 + chart at the end of article. For the hymns at the *end* of the night office *cf. supra*, text to notes 55-56.)
2. The variable canticle is dropped, only its troparion survives.
3. The office of the dead is artificially inserted between the (remnant of the) psalmody and the (remnant of the variable canticle, i.e. the) troparion. For the historical background of the office of the dead cf. "Armenian Night Office I", note 9.

Resurrection office:

1. The increase of *NT* canticles before the gospel obscured the original close connection between the canticles and the gospel reading, just as it weakened the Easter anamnesis of the resurrection office (*իւղաբերից*).
2. Although the troparia have assumed a disproportionate significance, they have not replaced the canticles as was the case in the night office, where the weight of the hymnodic material brought about the collapse of the main structure, the meditative recitation of the psalms in numerical order.

Morning office:

The original stratum of the morning synaxis remained basically intact, despite the importance of the hymnodic material. Only the conclusion of the office has lost its pristine structural transparency.

In particular the accumulation of hymns at various parts of the office in the medieval period, but also the unfortunate insertion of the office of the dead, have profoundly altered the original monastic character of the nocturnal gathering, and obscured the original structural transparency of the entire Sunday vigil (consisting of: night office — resurrection office — morning office). Once all the hymns, all the *NT* canticles, and the office of the dead are removed, then the archaic outline and the original features of the Sunday vigil become immediately apparent, since the Armenians have neither touched the sequence of these offices nor the sequence of its various elements. This may have far reaching implications for our understanding of the offices in general. The structural transparency and the archaic features of this vigil make the Armenian office an ideal point of departure for the re-investigation of the Syrian and Byzantine offices of the second half of the night till morning. As the remarkable old layers of the Armenian baptismal liturgy help us to unravel the origins and early evolution of the rites of initiation[337], so likewise does the Armenian office hold the key to a better understanding of the various components

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[334] Only the main elements are listed. We leave aside the intercessions, which originally concluded the offices, later even opened the synaxis, and eventually became inserted between the various parts of the offices. The original position and later evolution of the litanies requires a special investigation which lies outside of the scope of this article.

[335] The present office of resurrection has 3 pss between the canticles and the gospel. The relationship between the 3 canticles and the 3 psalms requires a separate study.

[336] Particular emphasis was laid on the analysis of the origins and the earliest evolution of the canticles and the troparia. The liturgical data in the 10th century commentary of Xosrov Anjewac'i and a comparison with Ōjnec'i and Siwnec'i require a special systematic investigation. Also the evidence in the appendix of the edition of Xosrov's commentary from 1730 has to be analysed. I have a photocopy of the 1730 edition. In the appendix (p. 430) some puzzling references are made to the eight *kanons* of psalms, the կանոնագլուխ, six (*sic*) գործայք, and the seven (*sic*) tones; also the canticles and troparia are mentioned. The obvious contradictions have to be solved by a careful analysis and a tentative dating of the various parts of the appendix. Moreover the edition of 1730 and 1840 to be compared with each other. V. INGLISIAN (*Die armenische Literatur*, in: B. SPULER, *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I/7 [Leiden 1963], p. 186) tells us that the colophon and other insertions in the edition of 1840 (p. 407-456) probably stem from the 13th century. Conybeare (*Rituale Armenorum*, p. 506-507) refers to the appendix of the 1730 edition. It is only too obvious that we are still at the very beginning of a systematic investigation of the Armenian office which has to be done on the basis of comparative liturgy.

[337] Cf. WINKLER, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale*, p. 442-448, 455-462.

VII

AN OBSCURE CHAPTER IN ARMENIAN CHURCH HISTORY (428-439)

The events in the Armenian Church after Sahak's removal from office in 428, the previous and subsequent dissemination of Antiochean christology in general, including the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the sequence and nature of the correspondence with Constantinople and Melitene, the reason for the Synod of Aštišat and its date, and the eventual campaign against Theodore in Armenia are among issues which have not been adequately resolved. One of the major problems consists in how to combine the various historical fragments and the letters in Greek, Syriac, and Armenian, including some Latin documents, in a more coherent and plausible fashion than has been offered in hitherto presented theories. The issue is further compounded by biased and distorted Armenian reports in regard to the events of this period, and the fact that only fragmentary evidence has come down to us about the various religious factions in Armenia during the time between 387 (the election of Sahak) and 438 or 439 (Sahak's death). This fact in itself gives rise to legitimate suspicion whether the Armenians had good reasons for misrepresenting some of the events or destroying a good many sources. The past apparently held painful memories for them "que les historiens arméniens ont un peu volontairement oublié[1] ..."

A careful comparison of the Armenian documents with complementary Syriac, Greek, and Latin evidence may provide a more coherent picture. Thus the probable sequence of events will emerge more clearly, and this comparison will also permit some inferences in regard to the provenance of Armenia's theological tenets during this period.

In this investigation I would like to suggest solutions other than those offered by Sarkissian, Inglisian, Tallon, and several others. After a detailed study of the extant evidence I eventually decided to reinvestigate also the rearrangement of the five letters in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* (pp. 1-21)

[1] P. Peeters, "Jérémie", p. 23.

by the above mentioned authors, which also led me to different conclusions.

There are several major issues which have not been sufficiently taken into account by Sarkissian, Inglisian, Tallon, and others:

(1) above all Sahak's expulsion from office in 428 and his exile until 432, the investiture of Syrian patriarchs in the Persarmenian Church (429-437) in order to bring Armenia into the orbit of Persian rule and Syrian tutelage, and the subsequent severely limited authority and power of Sahak at his return from exile in 432 until his death in 438 or 439;

(2) the reason for the Synod of Aštišat and its date (including the issue of how many synods actually took place in Aštišat during this period);

(3) the problem of Armenia's rejection of Theodore of Mopsuestia;

(4) the necessity for a more differentiated discussion of the trustworthiness of the sources, such as the Armenian version of the *Tomus ad Armenios* by Proclus, Movsēs Xorenac'i, Koriwn, and Łazar P'arpec'i;

(5) other alternatives for the sequence of correspondence in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*.

Given the great complexity of the issues which have to be discussed, the confusion concerning the sequence of events, the problems surrounding the Latin, Armenian, Syriac, and Greek evidence, and the political circumstances with which the doctrinal shifts are closely intertwined, I have decided to begin with a listing of the chapters in this essay, which corresponds with the historical sequence of events as they will be established in this article.

Prelude

For the sake of greater clarity we have to present a rough sketch of the events which took place in Edessa before we describe in greater detail Armenia's history during that time. The relevant period can be divided into three sections:

In the first three decades of the fifth century Edessa became a major centre for the propagation of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. This means that already during the life-time of Theodore — he died in 428 — his exegetical works and christology became the determinant

factor in the teaching at the famous Persian School of Edessa. It was Ibas (Hībā) in particular, but also others like Qiiōrē, Kūmī, Ma'nā (and Prōbā?), who were involved in translating and studying the writings of Theodore[2]. Antiochean theology with its diphysite leanings reached its peak in the first decades of the fifth century, not only in Edessa, but also in Constantinople since Nestorius occupied the patriarchal see from 428 till 431.

The second stage was inaugurated by growing anti-Antiochean sentiments, which culminated in the politically motivated removal of Nestorius from his high office, and his condemnation at the Council of Ephesus in 431. This event ultimately reverberated in the entire Christian East. Rabbula, who was bishop at Edessa (411/412 - 435/436), originally shared with John of Antioch his opposition to Cyril of Alexandria in Ephesus[3], despite the fact that Rabbula did not appreciate Theodore for apparently personal reasons[4]. Approximately one year after the unpleasant gathering in Ephesus, Rabbula apparently turned his back on the Antiocheans in 432[5], now joining Cyrill of Alexandria with whom he opened correspondence.

The third period (432-457) is characterized by the struggle for supremacy between the diphysite and monophysite parties in Edessa. The pro-Antiochean wing was concentrated in the famous Persian School of Edessa, whereas the city's hierarchy headed the anti-Theodorean faction. The impetuous bishop's first action was to infringe upon the doctrinal position of the School, ordering the burning of Theodore's writings while chasing one of the foremost teachers, Ibas, into exile after he had refused to destroy the works of the revered Antiochean theologian[6]. After the death of Rabbula in 435 or 436[7] the opposition to Rabbula gained momentum and prevailed in the nomination of the

[2] Cf. Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, pp. 14, 17-19, 22-23; in regard to Prōbā [p. 22], Vööbus had misunderstood the admittedly difficult German of Baumstark. The German scholar had not said that Prōbā had not taught at Edessa as Vööbus contended, but had restricted his teaching: "[Prôb(h)ā hat] der Perserschule nicht dauernd angehört"; Baumstark, p. 102, see also p. 101-102, 102-103, 105-106.

[3] Cf. Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 156-157; Baumstark, p. 71; Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, p. 25-26; Hefele, *Conziliengeschichte* II, p. 250.

[4] Cf. Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 154-155.

[5] I follow Vööbus (*School of Nisibis*, p. 25) for the date of Rabbula's doctrinal shift.

[6] Cf. Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 157; *idem*, "Origines", p. 216 (n. 2); Segal, *Edessa*, p. 93 (Segal places these events in the year 431, whereas Vööbus [cf. previous note] gives 432 which I believe to be the more likely date).

next hierarch. Ibas was called back and became bishop of Edessa. Yet his episcopacy was beset with difficulties caused by his monophysite rivals. For example, in 449 they succeeded in chasing Ibas from Edessa. The Council of Chalcedon rehabilitated Ibas in 451 and thus he was able to resume his duties as bishop. However, by that time the anti-Antiochean currents had reached such menacing force that Ibas' death in 457 brought about the dissolution of the School of Edessa, as his death also inaugurated the definitive eclipse of Antiochean christology[8].

I. The events prior to 428

Having set the stage, we can now turn to the most important events in Persarmenia, which for some time were closely intertwined with Edessa, particularly in the first decades of the fifth century.

Shortly after Byzantium and Persia had partioned Armenia and appropriated their share of the loot into their own empires, Sahak I was elected patriarch in 387. Thus Sahak came into office at a time of deep national crisis. Having been educated among the Greeks, his election seemed to safeguard, to some extent at least, the connections with Byzantium. His upbringing also formed a counterpoise to Armenia's natural socio-political gravitation toward Iran[9]. Moreover, the larger portion of Armenia had fallen to the Persians, who viewed Armenia's previous ties with the Greeks with suspicion.

Sahak was clever enough to surround himself with the most able men of the country who shared his vision. One of Sahak's closest collaborators was Mesrop Maštocʿ. The extraordinary political foresight of these two men became evident in their successful attempt of inventing an Armenian alphabet which provided the Armenians with a new cultural outreach and creative interaction with Syriac and Greek literature while fostering their own national unity. The date of the creation of the Armenian alphabet is disputed; for our purpose it

[7] Cf. Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 164-169; Segal, *Edessa*, p. 93.

[8] Cf. Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, p. 30-31.

[9] Cf. Grousset, *Histoire*, p. 170: "[Sahak a] été élevé parmi les Byzantins et son élection ... assurait le maintien du lien culturel avec le monde gréco-romain à l'heure même où le fatal traité de partage consenti par Théodose enchaînait politiquement la Grande Arménie au monde iranien".

suffices to indicate that this event with its far reaching implications took place between 391 at the earliest and 408 the latest[10].

(1) *The Journey to Edessa via Amida, Including Samosata*

It is of prime importance that the Armenians turned to Edessa in their endeavour to complete and refine their newly formed alphabet[11]. Łazar P'arpec'i would have us understand that Syriac schools had been sought out in general for the education of Armenia's clergy[12], so it was quite natural for Maštoc' and his disciples to turn again to Edessa around 414 or perhaps shortly thereafter[13]. In Edessa they were welcomed by bishop "Babilas" (Babilos)[14] which is a misspelling of Rabbula who had become bishop of Edessa in 411 or 412[15].

At this time Rabbula apparently still shared in the admiration for Antiochean theology at the Persian School of Edessa. The Armenian delegation, headed by Mesrop Maštoc' probably also became acquainted with Ibas and other well known teachers in Edessa's famous School. They held Antiochean christology in highest esteem as has been noted above[16]. Moreover, Theodore of Mopsuestia was considered the leading theologian, and during this period, when the Armenians stayed in Edessa, Theodore's writings were translated into Syriac by Ibas and other members of the School. Hence the sojourn of Maštoc' and his disciples coincided with the dissemination of Antiochean christology at the Persian School. While the Armenians stayed in

[10] A good survey is provided by SARKISSIAN, p. 85-97 (the heading on p. 85: "The First Three decades of the *Fourth* Century" is a mistake; obviously the *fifth* century is meant); of particular significance is Peeters superb analysis in his article "Origines".

[11] Cf. PEETERS, "Origines", p. 208; SARKISSIAN, p. 90.

[12] Cf. ŁAZAR P'ARPEC'I I, 10; I use the crit. ed. of TĒR-MKRTČ'EAN – MALXASEAN, p. 13 (line 33-34); French translation by S. Ghesarian in LANGLOIS II, p. 265; SARKISSIAN, p. 91-92.

[13] Cf. PEETERS, "Origines", p. 208. For the first and part of the second mission I follow Peeters' article (p. 204-211); I cannot share his outline of the circumstances of the third mission since I believe that Peeters has overlooked the implications of Sahak's downfall in 428 and the consequences of the Syrian tutelage over the Persarmenian Church (*cf. infra*).

[14] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 53; I use the crit. ed. of ABEŁEAN-YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 321: "Babilos"; ABEŁEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 71: "Babilas"; see also MELK'ONYAN, *Hay-asorakan*, p. 103-104; ABEŁYAN (Abełean), *Koryun*, p. 64-65 (n. 63). (For a survey on Koriwn *cf. infra*, n. 101.)

[15] Cf. PEETERS, "Rabboula", p. 166; BAUMSTARK, p. 71.

[16] *Cf. supra*, text to n. 2; MELK'ONYAN, *Hay-asorakan*, p. 102-103.

Edessa, Antiochean theology with its diphysite orientation had begun to reach its peak.

But also in Samosata to which the Armenians proceeded after their visit in Edessa, they encountered clergy who were influenced by Antioch. Maštoc' and his students must have met the local bishop Andrew who was on the side of Nestorius during the Counsil of Ephesus in 431[17]. Thus it can be legitimately assumed that the Persarmenian Church assimilated Antiochean christology, as Peeters has persuasively shown in his article on the origins of the Armenian alphabet, and summarised succintly in these statements:

> La littérature arménienne est éclose sous le signe de Théodore de Mopsueste et ... elle a commencé de s'épanouir dans un terroir saturé d'influences nestoriennes ...
> ... il n'est pas contestable que, au temps de Maštoc' et Sahak, l'Église d'Arménie ... ait commencé par accepter ... les enseignements de l'école théologique d'où le nestorianisme est sorti[18].

(2) *The Contacts with Byzantium and the Consequences*

It was after the exchange of hostilities between Byzantium and Persia from 421 until 422[19] that Sahak decided to reestablish contact with Constantinople. The most likely date for this enterprise seems to be the timespan between 423 and 425 for two reasons: Patriarch Atticus of Constantinople (406-425)[20] is mentioned in this context. Since he died in 425 these contacts have to be placed before his death. The hostilities from 421 until 422 between Theodosius II (408-450) and the Persians suggest that Sahak's initiative took place some time after 422.

The correspondence between Armenia and Byzantium, transmitted by Movsēs Xorenac'i[21], may be fictitious, but the frosty nature of

[17] Cf. PEETERS, "Origines", p. 209-210.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 217, 226 (see entire survey, p. 208-211); IDEM, "Jérémie", p. 17: "La création de la littérature nationale arménienne ... s'est préparée, on pourrait dire complotée, dans des milieux directement soumis à l'influence d'Antioche et avec l'appui des plusieurs personnages qui étaient ou devinrent des nestoriens avérés"; see in addition SARKISSIAN, p. 90-96.

[19] Cf. PEETERS, "Origines", p. 212; TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 13-14.

[20] For the dates of the Byzantine patriarchs and emperors I used the indications in BECK, *Literatur*, p. 802ff.

[21] Cf. lib. III, 57; ABELEAN-YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 333-336; English translation by THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 326-328.

Sahak's reception in Constantinople has to be trusted[22]. The Greeks blamed the Armenians for "wholeheartedly supporting a heathen king" and for disregarding the imperial City "to quench [their] thirst at torrential waters"[23] — that is, in Edessa instead of Constantinople. Sahak apparently succeeded in mollifying Byzantine resentment when he dispatched his ever efficient emissary Mesrop Maštocʻ, as we will see presently. It is interesting to observe Sahak's political stratagem, namely to reach a *modus vivendi* with both, the Persians and their archenemies, the Greeks. It was a precarious balance between Persia's rigid demands of loyalty toward Ctesiphon and the expectations of Constantinople.

Between 423 and 425[24] Sahak sent Maštocʻ to the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius and Patriarch Atticus. On his way to Constantinople, Maštocʻ left a number of disciples in Melitene; Movsēs and Koriwn say that they stayed with bishop Acacius[25]. The dates of Acacius' episcopacy are shrowded in obscurity as U. Rouziès says: "La date de son élévation à l'épiscopat est inconnue; nous savons seulement qu'il était déjà évêque en 430"[26]. If his episcopacy began in 430 or shortly before then it can hardly have been Acacius with whom the Armenian disciples stayed, since the Armenian mission has to be placed before 428, the date of Sahak's expulsion from office because of his hellenophile inclinations, and before the death of Patriarch Atticus in 425. For the journey of Maštocʻ we suggested the time between 423

[22] According to YOVHANNĒS KATʻOLIKOS [9th-10th cent.], p. 72 (French translation by SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire*, p. 46-47) Sahak was received "with great honours as if he were an apostle of Jesus Christ". This seems to be an invention of Yovhannēs.

[23] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENACʻI, lib. III, 57; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 329-330.

[24] PEETERS ("Origines", p. 212) dates the second mission between 422 and 426; see also TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 13-14; MANANDYAN (*Kʻnnakan tesutʻyun*, p. 275) suggests 420-422; AKINEAN ("Maštocʻ", col. 533) places it between 419-420; SARKISSIAN (p. 103 [n. 1]) indicates the earliest date 419 (suggested by Akinean) and the date of the death of Patriarch Atticus in 425. For my arguments in connection with these dates *cf. supra*, text to n. 20.

[25] MOVSĒS XORENACʻI, lib. III, 57; ABELEAN-YARUTʻIWNEAN, p. 335; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 328; ABELEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 80; TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 29 [n. 1]) and THOMSON (*Moses*, p. 328 [n. 8]) give the date 431-438. During this time Acacius was certainly the bishop of Melitene; the problem is: how much earlier than 430 was he in office?

[26] Cf. *Dictionnaire*, col. 242. In LEQUIEN, col. 441-442, nothing is said about the beginning of Acacius' episcopacy; the same is true for BARDENHEWER, CAMELOT in GRILLMEIER-BACHT, *Chalkedon* I, p. 213-242, and HEFELE, *Conziliengeschichte* II, p. 271, 275.

and 425 as the most likely date. Hence it has to remain open whether Mesrop Maštoc' entrusted the Armenian students to bishop Acacius or his predecessor[27]. The Armenian group of students was headed by a certain Łewond (= Łewondēos)[28] of whom we will hear a great deal later on in connection with Sahak's confidential inquiries into the christological disputes in Constantinople between 434 and 435[29], and with the libellus of Leontius (= Łewond, Łewondēs, Łewondēos) and Abelius[30], which has to be inserted into the events following the Synod of Aštišat.

In the context of this mission in Byzantium an interesting passage of the History by Catholicos Yovhannēs (9th to 10th cent.) has to be mentioned. Yovhannēs says that Sahak put an end to the country's trouble while reestablishing proper worship (zpaštōn); the passage is quoted in Saint-Martin's French translation:

> Notre pays était comme désert lorsque [Sahak] y parut:
> il le pacifia, replaça tout dans un ordre admirable,
> mit fin à tous les troubles,
> et rétablit la piété avec les prières de ses disciples[31].

"By this we are to understand", comments Nina Garsoïan, "that he firmly established the hellenizing faith."[32] Garsoïan may be correct in her interpretation. Yet Sahak's endeavours and triumph were of

[27] *pace* SARKISSIAN, p. 135: "Acacius of Melitene had been the host of ... Mesrop Maštoc'. He had taken care of the education of Maštoc's disciples who had been entrusted to him by the latter. Therefore, it was easy for him to know what was happening in Armenia, especially in the field of ecclesiastical life ..."; p. 140: "... one of the priests, Leontius ... was the chief of the disciples who were entrusted to the care of Acacius by Maštoc' on his journey to Constantinople. Therefore he had been in an immediate and most intimate relationship with Acacius by having him as a guide in his studies. Naturally, he would have been deeply influenced by Acacius' christological position ..."; PEETERS, "Origines", p. 211-212, 217.

[28] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENACʻI, lib. III, 57; ABEŁEAN-YARUTʻIWNEAN, p. 334: "Łewond"; ABEŁEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 80: "Łewondēos".

[29] *Cf. infra*, cap. IV.

[30] *Cf. infra*, cap. VI (2).

[31] SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire*, p. 45; YOVHANNĒS KATʻOŁIKOS, p. 70.

[32] Cf. GARSOÏAN, *Paulician Heresy*, p. 225. I differ from Garsoïan by connecting this passage of Yovhannēs' History with Sahak's attempt to reestablish ties with Byzantium, whereas Garsoïan associates it with the Synod of Aštišat. Since the synod of 435/436 has no part in hellenizing the Persarmenian Church, and since Sahak's power is severely curtailed by that time, this passage of Yovhannēs has to be concatenated with a period in which Sahak was still in office, that is before 428. The only time when the statement of Yovhannēs could have some validity is during the period of the reestablished connections with Constantinople, that is between 423 and 425.

short duration, for a number of Armenian princes (*naxarark'*) resented Sahak's ecclesial reorientation, and they denounced him in Ctesiphon for his hellenophile leanings. The dangerous attempt of the Armenian Patriarch to reopen Persarmenia's connection with Constantinople, and thus to establish some sort of counterbalance to Syria's influence in ecclesial matters and Persia's cultural and political authority over Persarmenia, by keeping a group of Armenian students also in Melitene and other places of Byzantine Armenia, proved to be fatal. It became evident that the political situation of Persarmenia was far too volatile to absorb such a bold outreach to Byzantine territory. Already Sahak's father, Nersēs, had resorted to a similar stratagem, and he paid with his life for hellenizing the Armenian Church[33]. His son Sahak survived in his precarious gamble, but he was expelled from his high position in 428. There can be no doubt of Movsēs Xorenac'i's reliability when he establishes a direct causal connection between the hellenophile inclinations of Patriarch Sahak and his ouster in 428, which inaugurates Syria's more immediate influence in Armenian Church affairs, first through the Armenian Surmak who came form the southern province Bznunik'[34], then through the Syrian patriarchs until 437, and subsequently once more through the pro-Syrian Surmak from 437 until 444.

II. The period of the Syrian patriarchs in Armenia

Movsēs Xorenac'i and Łazar P'arpec'i give an eloquent report about Sahak's expulsion from office[35]. The Patriarch had long standing and close ties with the Armenian King Artašir (Artašēs)[36], whom the iranophile faction among the Armenian princes intended to oust from the throne because of his alleged sympathies for the Greeks[37]. The calumnies did not stop in front of the royal throne, but included also the head of the Armenian Church since Sahak had refused to take part in the deposition of Artašir. One of the most prominent spokesmen

[33] Cf. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresey*, p. 225; Gelzer, "Anfänge", p. 110, 156-157; *cf. infra*, n. 44, 99.

[34] The southern provinces were traditionally under Syrian influence; cf. Sarkissian, p. 106.

[35] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. III, 63-64; Abełean-Yarut'iwnean, p. 346-349; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 340-342; Łazar P'arpec'i, 14-15; Tēr-Mkrtč'ean – Malxasean, p. 23-26; Langlois ii, p. 270-272.

[36] Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 421.

[37] Cf. Grousset, *Histoire*, p. 170, 178-184.

of the pro-Persian party among the Armenian clergy was a certain Surmak from Arckē of the southern province of Bznunik'[38], who contended that Sahak's friendly ties with the Greeks made him suspect of disloyalty, just as the Armenian King had been suspect, and that their actions amounted to treason against the Persian rule of Vřam V (421-438/439)[39].

According to Movsēs Xorenac'i, Surmak had a vested interest in seeing Sahak chased into exile "for the malicious and contentious princes had promised him the archiepiscipal throne, so in self-interest he had rendered his tongue into a murderous sword[40]." We will not err in the assumption that Surmak had not only the vast support of the iranophile *naxarark'*, but also that of the powerful wing in the Armenian Church that favoured close relationships with the Syrian christian communities in Persia.

Thus Sahak was stripped of his office in 428, "the domains of the Catholicos" were confiscated, and Surmak was indeed given the "archiepiscopal throne[41]." How the reenforcement of Armenia's ties with Syria affected matters of faith and Armenia's prior relationship with Cesarea has come down to us in the most fragmentary way. Nina Garsoïan, however, is of the opinion that the adversarial relationship between Cesarea and Armenia concerned only Byzantine Armenia, not Persarmenia, as she has tried to demonstrate in one of her most recent contributions[41a]. Since the whole matter still is quite obscure it may be helpful to refer to the *Diegesis* and some works which deal with the objections from Cesarea. The *Diegesis* (§§ 31-33) associates the schism between the Armenian and Greek Church with the *cheirotonia* of Surmak:

> 31 Τῷ δὲ λζ' ἔτει τοῦ μικροῦ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ καίσαρος ἠλαττώθησαν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀρμενίας, καὶ ἐπαρρησιάσθη ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ αὐθάδεια, καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἐχειροτόνουν ἐπισκόπους.

[38] Cf. ŁAZAR P'ARPEC'I I, 14; TĒR-MKRTČ'EAN – MALXASEAN, p. 23; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 422; *cf. supra*, n. 34.

[39] For the dates cf. GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 93.

[40] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 64; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 341; see also YOVHANNĒS KAT'OŁIKOS, p. 74; SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire*, p. 48.

[41] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 64; ABEŁEAN-YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 349; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 341; see also ŁAZAR P'ARPEC'I I, 15; TĒR-MKRTČ'EAN - MALXASEAN, p. 25; LANGLOIS II, p. 271; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 99, 101-102.

[41a] Cf. GARSOÏAN, "Nersēs le Grand", p. 149-158. This theory was mentioned already by THOPDSCHIAN, "Anfänge", p. 15.

32 Διεσκεδάσθη δὲ καὶ διεσπάρη τὰ τέκνα τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῇ προστάξει τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως.
33 Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς αὐθαδείας ταύτης ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Σουρμὰκ ἐξουσίας ἤρξατο μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας· ἀνίατος δὲ ἔμεινεν ἕως τοῦ νῦν[42].

According to the *Diegesis* "the children of the Church were dispersed by the order of the Persian King" because of the αὐθάδεια of the Armenians to consecrate Surmak themselves dispite the protests from Cesarea who raised objections because of Sahak's expulsion[43]. It was not the first incidence where the Armenians went their own way. Cesarea's outrage over the willful investiture of Surmak had a precedent in Cesarea's loudly voiced opposition to the appointment of Yusik by the Armenian King Pap who had ordered the murder of Patriarch Nersēs after the Patriarch's attempt to reform and hellenize the Armenian Church[44]. The same allegation of sympathizing with the Greeks was laid at the feet of Sahak. His pro-Byzantine policies provoked violent opposition among the *naxarark'* who instigated Sahak's downfall in 428 and the consecration of the iranophile Surmak[45].

What Surmak did or failed to do while holding the highest office in the Armenian Church will remain obscure. The subsequent events allow the conjecture that he may not have been anti-Byzantine enough in his policies for those political and ecclesial circles who intended to keep the Armenian Church closely affiliated with the Syrians and outside of the sphere of Byzantine influence. Surmak stayed in office only one year[46], then he was replaced by a Syrian in 429. Yet despite his removal from office he must have remained a powerful prelate and a viable alternative, because later on he assumed once more the leading role in the Armenian Church, as we will see. At this juncture of events, however, he was replaced by someone whose pro-Persian

[42] Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 30. The somewhat obscure report in the *Diegesis* was clarified by Garitte on the basis of the Greek list of the Armenian katholikoi, including the Georgian version; cf. Garitte, *op. cit.*, p. 99, 101-102, 403 (21), 407-408 (21), 423-424 (21).

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 101-102; Tournebize, *Histoire*, p. 507-509; Weber, *Kirche in Armenien*, p. 418, 476-482; see also previous note, and Gelzer, "Anfänge", p. 125-126, 131, 139-140, 155, 157-162; Toumanoff, "Christian Caucasia", p. 188-189.

[44] Cf. n. 33, 99; Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 417-418, 419-420.

[45] Cf. E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche*, p. 25; Gelzer, "Anfänge", p. 164.

[46] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 64; Abelean-Yarut'iwnean, p. 349; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 341; Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 99, 422; Grousset, *Histoire*, p. 184.

trustworthiness was beyond any question: the new Patriarch was no longer an Armenian, but a Syrian.

(1) *Brk'išo(y)*

At the request of the *naxarark'* the Persian King Vřam appointed in 429 the Syrian Brk'išo(y) [Brgišo(y)][47] to lead the Armenian Church[48]. Thus Armenian Church affairs came under Syrian tutelage. The pro-Syrian orientation lasted at least until 437 as Grousset has pointed out in his chapter on "la tentative de rattachement de la chrétienté arménienne à l'Église syriaque[49]." Grousset associated these endeavours above all with the Persian King Vřam. Yet we have to presuppose that the pro-Syrian church policies in Armenia were by no means instigated by Ctesiphon alone, or that they originated with the traditionally iranophile *naxarark'* of Armenia's southern provinces. These attempts of greater unification between the Armenian and Syrian Church coincided with a longstanding and close, albeit periodically contended relationship between Edessa and the Armenian Church. These ties were now reaffirmed and openly supported by politically powerful currents in Armenia's ecclesial circles.

The rapprochement between the Armenian and Syrian communities, fostered by political circumstance, also led to Armenia's entanglement in the christological disputes. The evidence which has come down to us stems from those who, in hindsight, profoundly regretted the ruthless ouster of Sahak and who disavowed the pro-Syrian course of the Armenian Church. Thus it is not surprising to see Armenian historiographers minimalize, or even eradicate the traces of the pro-Syrian stance of their fellow countrymen. Łazar P'arpec'i, for example, has never anything good to say about the Syrians[50]. He complains bitterly about the new leadership since he perceives the Syrians as intruders.

[47] For the spelling cf. ŁAZAR P'ARPEC'I, 15; TĒR-MKRTČ'EAN - MALXASEAN, p. 26 (n. 6); GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 422-423.

[48] Cf. ŁAZAR P'ARPEC'I, 15; TĒR-MKRTČ'EAN - MALXASEAN, p. 26; LANGLOIS II, p. 272; MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 64; ABEŁEAN-YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 349; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 341-342; GROUSSET, *Histoire*, p. 184-186; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 99, 407, 422-423; Step'anos Tarōnec'woy confounded Brk'išo(y) with Abdišo(y); cf. MALXASEANC', *Step'anosi*, p. 77; German translation by GELZER - BURCKHARDT, *Stephanos*, p. 54; Step'anos' dates are also imprecise. MELK'ONYAN, *Hay-asorakan*, p. 105, apparently overlooked the existence of Brk'išo(y).

[49] Cf. GROUSSET, *Histoire*, p. 184-187.

[50] This is very well described by TER-MINASSIANTZ, *Die armenische Kirche*, p. 26-27.

In his opposition he does not shirk away from slandering Brk'išo(y) and his Syrian entourage by accusing them of immoral conduct, which probably is just unfounded calumny[51]. Movsēs Xorenac'i, who follows Łazar, also vilifies the Syrians:

> [Brk'išo(y)] arrived with evil companions,
> bringing with him also women to keep house.
> For three years he led a dissolute and prodigal life,
> seizing [the revenues] of dioceses whose bishops had died[52].

That the Syrians pocketed the revenues is not so much proof of their avarice, as Movsēs wants us to believe, but a matter of seizing power over the remaining resistance of some prelates who still may have been loyal to Sahak, or who opposed the iranophile orientation of the *naxarark'*.

Movsēs is dependent on Łazar P'arpec'i when he paints the moral conduct of the Syrians in such black colours. Łazar dwells a great deal on the allegedly dissolute life of the new Syrian church administration[53]. We have to realize, however, that these crude insinuations about alleged sexual misconduct of the Syrians with some women[54] is used as a device to divert the attention from what really happened at that time[55]. There can be little doubt about the true intent of the Syrians. They had been asked by the Armenians to assume leadership in the Armenian Church, and thus they had a delicate mission to achieve, namely to obtain control over both, the clergy and the monasteries, and to prevent, or at least discourage further graecization of the Armenian church communities, which Sahak apparently had revived with such vigor that he was eventually deposed. The real agenda, namely the supervision of (a) the monasteries, and of (b) the clergy is hidden underneath the accusations:

[51] *pace* TER-MINASSIANTZ, *Die armenische Kirche*, p. 26.

[52] Cf. lib. III, 64; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 342.

[53] Cf. ŁAZAR P'ARPEC'I, I, 15; TĒR-MKRTČ'EAN - MALXASEAN, p. 26; LANGLOIS II, p. 272.

[54] Also mentioned in YOVHANNĒS KAT'OŁIKOS, p. 74; SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire*, p. 48; Yovhannēs claims that Brk'išo(y) kept a concubine, which is an invention of his; TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 611-612.

[55] These uncouth insinuations have never been challenged; see, for example TER-MINASSIANTZ, *Die armenische Kirche*, p. 26: "... vielmehr trugen diese Syrer durch ihre Persönlichkeit dazu bei, *dass man* gegen die Syrer direkt Feindschaft und *Abscheu empfinden musste. Sie waren unkeusche Männer* und dazu noch geldgierig ..." (emphasis mine).

(a) [The Syrians] did not live according to the holy and pure religious life (*krônic'n*);
which was established and prescribed ... by the holy martyr Grigor ... ;
they did not conform themselves to the rules and teaching
[established] by the angelic rule of the holy martyr Grigor,
through which he had instructed, raised, and sustained everybody
according to the citizenship from above.

(b) Even more sourly afflicted [and] disconsolate were the ... priests ...
who had been ordained by the apostolic hand of the holy Patriarch Sahak[56] ...

Movsēs Xorenac'i tells us that Brk'išo(y) remained in office for three years[57], and both, Movsēs and Łazar P'arpec'i indicate that there was growing opposition among the Armenian clergy and the *naxarark'* against Brk'išo(y). The reasons offered by Łazar and Movsēs for the restiveness of the Persarmenian Church have no credibility as has been said already[58]. For a better understanding of the events in Armenia we have to turn our attention to the religious currents of Christianity at large.

Diphysite tenets of Antiochean provenance had swept over most parts of Eastern Christendom. Edessa, under the theological leadership of Ibas, had developed to a major centre for diphysite tendencies, and in 428 the emperor had summoned the famous orator Nestorius from Antioch[59]. The Alexandrian prelates had little sympathy for the bishops of Constantinople and treated them accordingly[60]. Moreover, Nestorius, who was not an original thinker, but a faithful summarizer of Antiochean christological tenets[61], was no match for the shrewd machinations and the theological astuteness of Cyril. A few years sufficed to make Nestorius tumble from his high position in 431, and then Cyril began to rewrite christology in earnest while looking for supporters to undo his rivals from the Antiochean School.

The new Patriarch of Constantinople Maximianus (431-434) also posed no major obstacle for Cyril's further plans[62]. Indeed, Cyril found

[56] Cf. Łazar P'arpec'i, 15; Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 26; Langlois ii, p. 272.

[57] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 64; Abelean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 349; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 342; Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 423.

[58] *Cf. supra*, text to n. 51-55.

[59] Cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 18-20.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 22-23; Hefele, *Conziliengeschichte*, p. 149-153.

[62] Cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

powerful assistance from most unexpected quarters: the bishop of Edessa. After the Council of Ephesus in 431, which had dealt the Antiocheans a serious blow from which they would ultimately not recover, Rabbula made in 432 the fateful decision to turn his back against that School which had increased Edessa's fame beyond the borders of the Persian Empire. There is enough evidence at hand to suggest that Rabbula's apparent disavowal of Antioch was rather a matter of personal rancour than the result of theological reflection[63]. Rabbula proceeded swiftly and ruthlessly while masking his change of mind as Schwartz has seen with penetrating clarity: "Um den Wechsel etwas zu maskieren, nahm er nicht Nestorius, sondern den schon verstorbenen Theodor von Mopsuestia ... aufs Korn[64]." So he moved against the School of Edessa since it was from there that the writings of Theodore had been disseminated. The "tyrant of Edessa" ordered that Theodore's works be burnt, and Ibas, being one of the foremost teachers in Edessa, was chased from the School[65]. Ibas, of course, sought assistance, and the drastic procedures of Rabbula provoked similar reactions. The Patriarch of Antioch, John, wrote a letter to all bishops of the province of Edessa in which he suggested that they refrain from contact with Rabbula until he would explain the matter in Antioch[66]. Rabbula, instead of showing regret and remorse, as requested by Antioch, turned to Alexandria for further ammunition[67].

These dramatic events, which shook the entire Christian East, eventually also reverberated in Persarmenia. The volatile situation of the Persarmenian Church in general from 428-429 under Surmak, and in particular under the Syrian Patriarch Brk'išo(y) is understandable only if we assume excessive diphysite tendencies in the Syrian hierarchy which had replaced the Armenian prelates in 429. It is quite likely that the Syrian Brk'išo(y) had been trained in the foremost theological School of Syria before he assumed the highest office in the Persarmenian Church in 429. If he had received his education in Edessa, then he was

[63] Cf. Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 154; Devreesse, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 128 (n. 4).

[64] Cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 23; different reason in Devreesse, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 128 (n. 4); Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 154; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 259.

[65] Cf. Devreesse, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 127-128; Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 157; Hefele, *Conziliengeschichte*, p. 285-286.

[66] Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 23-24.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

molded by Antiochean christology. The conjecture that Brk'išo(y) and his entourage were steeped in the theology of Antioch, and that they brought their christological tenets to Persarmenia has some probability. The strength of the Syrian presence in Persarmenia can readily be inferred by the deep seated anti-Syrian sentiments of Łazar P'arpec'i. His resentment against the Syrians is only understandable if Brk'išo(y) and his Syrian entourage had considerable power and influence in the Persarmenian Church. Behind Łazar's denunciation of Brk'išo(y) and his following we can faintly recognize that doctrinal matters were the main issue:

> ... they did not conform themselves to the rules and teaching [established] by the angelic rule of the holy martyr Grigor[68] ...

The reference to Grigor Lusaworič' is indicative: it stands for that type of Christianity which had entered Armenia via Cappadocia in contrast to the suspect leadership of the iranophile Ałbianids with their leanings toward Syria[69]. The diphysite theology of the Syrian Brk'išo(y) apparently must have been so pronounced that he was removed from office in 432 after having presided over Armenian church affairs for three years[70]. The date of Brk'išo(y)'s ouster could lead one to consider the possibility of a causal connection between Rabbula's radical move against the Antiochean tenets of the School of Edessa in 432 and Brk'išo(y)'s downfall in the same year. Yet the fact that Brk'išo(y) was replaced by another Syrian, who held a doctrinal position similar to that of Brk'išo(y), seems to rule out this conjecture. Brk'išo(y) may have been too heavy handed in his pursuit to bring the Armenian Church into the orbit of untenable diphysite leanings.

(2) *Š(a)muēl and Sahak*

Łazar P'arpec'i bluntly asserts that some *naxarark'* requested from the Persian King Vřam "a prelate according to their own rule":

> His [i.e. Brk'išo(y)'s] rules and life style do not correspond with the rule of our country's teaching.

[68] Cf. n. 56.

[69] Cf. Adontz-Garsoïan, *Armenia*, p. 269-275; Garsoïan, "Armenia", p. 343-344; eadem, *Paulician Heresy*, p. 224; Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche*, p. 3-4; Winkler, *Initiationsrituale*, p. 67 (with further references in n. 88).

[70] Cf. n. 57.

> Give us a different man as prelate (*aṙajnord*) according to our own rule who, being the supervisor, should assume the rule of the holy Church without changing [the teaching][71]

This request in Łazar P'arpec'i is supported by the evidence in Movsēs Xorenac'i. Here the *naxarark'* also asked to substitute Brk'išo(y) "and to give them someone else of their own faith (*krōnic'n*)[72]."

We have to surmise that the faction behind the hellenophile Sahak had perhaps played a role in the undoing of Brk'išo(y). That the followers of Sahak were, however, not powerful enough to bring Sahak back into office is seen by the fact that another Syrian became Patriarch. The wrestling between the pro-Iranian faction and the anti-Syrian group of Armenians is vaguely alluded to in Movsēs Xorenac'i's account when he reports that some *naxarark'* requested Sahak's return from exile[73] while the iranophile party left the choice of the next patriarch to the Persian King[74].

According to Movsēs Xorenac'i the Persian King Vṙam accepted the request of both parties :

> by giving the archiepiscopal throne to another certain Syrian, Šamuēl (Šmuēl) by name[75] ...
> and releasing Sahak the Great, he conceded a few villages to him ... that he might reside only in his own territory,

[71] Cf. Łazar P'arpec'i i, 15; Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 26; Langlois ii, p. 272.

[72] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 64; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 349; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 342.

[73] Łazar P'arpec'i narrates these events slightly differently : on the one hand the Armenians request at this point a "prelate according to their own rule"; on the other he says nothing about Sahak's return from exile and sharing of the responsibility with the next Syrian Patriarch Š(a)muēl; cf. I, 15, Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 26; Langlois ii, p. 272. The unsuccessful request of the *naxarark'* that Sahak resume his leading position in the Persarmenian Church is only mentioned after the death of Š(a)muēl, not after Brk'išo(y)'s expulsion; cf. I, 16, Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 26-27; Langlois ii, p. 272-273. Also Movsēs Xorenac'i reports about the unsuccessful petition of the *naxarark'* after Š(a)muēl had died, but here it is a request to fully occupy the patriarchal throne after having shared the responsibilities with Š(a)muēl; p. 354; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 346. It is difficult to decide whom one ought to follow, Movsēs or Łazar. Movsēs often depends on Łazar, but Movsēs may have a point when he insists that Sahak returned from exile (in 432) and that his position next to Š(a)muēl was tenuous and sometimes even humiliating.

[74] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 64-65; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 349-350; Thomson, p. 342.

[75] For the spelling cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 65; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 350 (n. 14); Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 423.

> by having only the authority of the traditional religious instruction
> and ordaining those whom also Š(a)muēl might accept[76].

From Movsēs account it is clear who was in charge; Sahak's authority and jurisdiction were extremely limited. Furthermore, he had to seek the approval of Š(a)muēl for any ordination, and the Syrian Patriarch indeed kept a watchful eye over the ordinations[77]. Still, that was not all. Vřam had made sure that Š(a)muēl had ultimate control over what happened in Persarmenia. It was the Syrian Patriarch who held authority over the most sensitive areas of social life, tax revenues and the courts:

> [Š(a)muēl's] duty [was] ... to oversee the assessment of the required taxes and the judicial system (*datastanac'*) and other secular institutions[78].

Yet even this was not considered sufficient: Sahak was summoned before Vřam who made him swear

> to remain loyal ... and not to plan rebellion:
> to deceive [Š(a)muēl] by sharing the heretical faith of the Greeks[79].

The evidence leaves no doubt about the tight control by the Syrians over Armenian church affairs. Brk'išo(y)'s downfall in 432 had not led to an alteration of Syrian tutelage. Neither was there any real change in the doctrinal orientation, as both Łazar P'arpec'i and Movsēs Xorenac'i indicate in connection with Š(a)muēl's nomination:

> Coming to the country of the Armenians
> he, too, continued in the same manner after the faith (*krōnic'n*) of Brk'išo(y)[80].

Łazar P'arpec'i, who is well known for his opposition to the Syrians, makes a disdainful reference to their "murkey teaching" (*pštor usumn*) which should not have been mingled (*xařnesci*) with "the lucid and

[76] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 65; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 350; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 343; see in addition Melk'onyan, *Hay-asorakan*, p. 105.

[77] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 66; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 353; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 345.

[78] Cf. n. 76.

[79] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 65; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 351; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 343. The alleged scornful reply of Sahak is a pious invention of Movsēs.

[80] Cf. Łazar P'arpec'i, 15; Ter-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 26; Langlois ii, p. 272; Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 66: "Š(a)muēl came, occupied the archiepiscopal throne, [and] followed the life-style of Brk'išo(y) ..."; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 353; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 345.

pure doctrine of the holy and apostle-like ... Grigor [Lusaworič'][81]." Once more the lineage of the Gregorids — to which also Sahak belongs — is contrasted with the Syrians. Movsēs Xorenac'i does not explicitly mention Brk'išo(y) and Š(a)muēl in his famous lament, but his remarks have to be associated with the period of Syrian leadership in the Armenian Church :

> I lament over you, land of the Armenians ...
> for your king and priest[82], counselor and teacher have been removed ...
> Orthodoxy has been shaken,
> [and] heresy has been consolidated through ignorance ...
> Now [there are] disputes within and terrors without :
> terrors form the heathens and disputes from the heretics ...
>
> Who will silence the impudence of those
> who have stirred up opposition against valid teaching
> [and those] who are totally undone and who fall into pieces by every word[83].
> They change many teachers and numerous books ...
> Who will put them to silence with authority[84] ... ?

Movsēs Xorenac'i writes in hindsight, and that is why he laments over Armenia's "heretics" and "heresy." The origins of the "heretics" have to be connected with the Syrian leadership, and the "heresy" with Antiochean christology which came into Armenia via Edessa. We should not forget that the Syrians had the full support of the most powerful *naxarark'*, including the previous Patriarch Surmak, as will be seen shortly. The party behind Sahak was neither strong enough to prevail over the iranophile Syrian hierarchy nor was it theologically prepared to counterbalance the diphysite leanings of the pro-Syrian faction who had rallied behind Š(a)muēl[85].

After Sahak's release, his jurisdiction was severely curtailed by the Persian King and the Syrian Patriarch. Š(a)muēl could interfere at any time when he considered it fit to intervene. And Š(a)muēl made use of his power. Movsēs Xorenac'i is an eloquent witness of Š(a)muēl's

[81] Cf. Łazar P'arpec'i, 16; Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 27; Langlois ii, 273.

[82] This is a reference to the expulsion of King Artašir and Patriarch Sahak in 428.

[83] This could be an allusion to the Armenian clergy who readily followed the innovations of the Syrians.

[84] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 68; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 358, 360, 362; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 350, 351, 352.

[85] Cf. Tournebize, *Histoire*, p. 339 : "Samuel ... semble favoriser la propagande nestorienne ...".

interventions: "he did not permit Sahak the Great to ordain successors for the dead [bishops][86]." This is, of course, a clear indication of the power struggle between Sahak and Š(a)muēl: each one tried to put his follower into vacant positions. Š(a)muēl also applied, when necessary, fiscal pressures by seizing and redistributing confiscated property to those who shared his vision[87]. That there was shrewd purpose behind these measures is seen in the fact that he gave such land to other Armenian prelates whom he trusted. Surmak, the previous Patriarch, was apparently one of them[88]. He seemed to have gained most through this redistribution of land and honours. Hence Surmak must have been one of the closest associates of Patriarch Š(a)muēl. Whether such policies and the rising star of Surmak enjoyed great popularity among other Armenians is open to speculation. It can be assumed that Sahak and his party had little sympathy for the Syrians or for Surmak[89]. After all, it was Surmak who had been the driving force behind Sahak's downfall in 428 and the reaffirmation of a pro-Syrian course of the Armenian Church. However, the gleeful assertion of Łazar P'arpec'i (and Movsēs Xorenac'i who is dependent on Łazar) that the Syrians were hated and despised by everybody is not corroborated by historical facts. It is indicative that Š(a)muēl remained in office until he died in 437[90]. He obviously had the support of several powerful Armenian prelates, such as Surmak, for example. It is equally significant that the Armenian faction behind Sahak and Mesrop Maštoc' was unsuccessful in prevailing over Surmak after the death of Š(a)muēl in 437[91], Sahak in 438 or 439[92], and Maštoc' in 440[93]. The ensueing

[86] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 66; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 353; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 345.

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Ibid.*

[89] Cf. Sahak's allusions to the false apostles and patriarchs, and the calamities which had befallen Armenia; Łazar P'arpec'i, 16.17; Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 27-28, 34; Langlois ii, p. 273, 276.

[90] Š(a)muēl's pontificate lasted five years; cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 66; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 354; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 346; for further indications cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 423.

[91] The veracity of Łazar P'arpec'i's account (and those who follow him like Movsēs Xorenac'i) is doubtful. According to their version Sahak did not want to hold the highest office when the people urged him to resume his duties as patriarch; cf. Łazar P'arpec'i, 16; Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 26-27; Langlois ii, p. 273; Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 66; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 354; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 346;

power struggle between the iranophile party, represented by Surmak, and the opposite wing of the followers of Sahak ended with the victory of Surmak[94]. Yovsēp', a disciple of Sahak and Maštoc'[95] held only the position of a *locum tenens* (*tełapahut'iwn*)[96], and thus he stood in the shadow of the mighty pro-Syrian faction of his rival Surmak until Surmak died in 444[97]. Only then did Yovsēp' ascend to the patriarchal throne[98].

How precarious and dangerous any pro-Byzantine orientation was for those Armenians who dared to keep this avenue open, emerges from the fact that nearly all of them paid for their bold actions with their life: Nersēs was murdered in 373 by the Armenian King Pap for hellenizing the Armenian Church[99]; his son Sahak escaped a violent death, but was expelled from office in 428 because of his pro-Byzantine leanings; and Yovsēp', who belonged to the entourage of Sahak, was murdered by Yazdgard II in 454, after having been exiled for several years[100].

We can safely assume that during the entire period from 428, when Surmak ascended the patriarchal throne, until the death of Š(a)muēl in 437, if not even beyond this date, the Armenian Church remained under Syrian tutelage, and doctrinally in the shadow of the Antiochean School.

see also GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 408. This twist is rather difficult to believe. It seems as if Sahak's tenuous position and lack of any substantial power or support probably made it impossible for him and his entourage to prevail over Surmak after the death of Š(a)muēl in 437.

[92] Cf. N. AKINEAN ("Šahapiwani", p. 93-95) establishes 439 as the date for Sahak's death, whereas GARITTE (*Narratio*, p. 89-94, especially p. 93) favours 438.

[93] Cf. GROUSSET, *Histoire*, p. 187-188; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 92 ff.

[94] For Surmak cf. YOVHANNĒS KAT'OŁIKOS, p. 76; SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire*, p. 49; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 96.

[95] Yovsēp' belonged to the followers of Maštoc' (and Sahak) according to the *History of the Synods* attributed to Yovhan Imastasēr (Ōjnec'i); cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 220; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 90.

[96] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 67; ABELEAN - YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 358; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 349; see also YOVHANNĒS KAT'OŁIKOS, p. 76; SAINT-MARTIN, *Histoire*, p. 49.

[97] Cf. GROUSSET, *Histoire*, p. 188; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 100.

[98] Cf. the excellent survey in GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 94-96, 424, 425. The work of A. TĒR-MIK'ELEAN, *Samuēli k'ahanayi Anec'woy hawak'munk'* ... (Vałaršapat 1893), quoted in GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 425, was inaccessible to me.

[99] Cf. GARSOÏAN, *Paulician Heresy*, p. 224-225; *cf. supra*, n. 33, 44.

[100] Cf. GROUSSET, *Histoire*, p. 189 ff; 211-212; GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 97-98.

(3) *The Consequences of Syrian Leadership: the Mission of Yovsēp' and Eznik in Edessa*

It is in this atmosphere of increasing Syrian control over the church affairs of Persarmenia that we have to place the mission of Yovsēp' and Eznik. The famous School of Edessa was by that time disseminating the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Antiochean christology had a considerable hold on the teachers in Edessa such as Ibas and his circle.

It is perhaps significant that Mesrop Maštoc' no longer forms part of the delegation as in the previous two missions. Is this an indication that it was not Sahak, but the Syrian Patriarch who was responsible for the mission in Edessa? Koriwn[101] and Movsēs Xorenac'i attribute the idea of sending Armenians once again to the School of Edessa to Sahak and Mesrop Maštoc'. If that was the case then Sahak, as well as Maštoc', were still profoundly attracted to Antiochean tenets in matters of christology. But perhaps we have to consider the possibility that either Brk'išo(y) or Š(a)muēl had decisive influence on where the Armenians were sent for the purpose of translating patristic literature into Armenian.

Yovsēp' and Eznik must have been sent to Edessa either towards the end of Brk'išo(y)'s time in office, or the very beginning of Š(a)muēl's episcopacy. The suggested date is then the year 432, just before Rabbula turned his back on Theodore of Mopsuestia and Antiochean christology. Both, Koriwn and Movsēs Xorenac'i, tell the story of Yovsēp's and Eznik's mission. Here is what Movsēs has to say about the purpose of this journey:

> Then Mesrop and Sahak the Great came and took ... Yovsēp'
> and the other companion from the village of Kołb, whose name was Eznik.

[101] For a good survey on Korwin and the literary problems involved cf. PEETERS, "Origines", p. 204-207. Koriwn has been transmitted in two redactions, often referred to as *Koriwn I* (= the extensive version) and *Koriwn II* (= the shorter version). Both versions were published together (Koriwn II being included at the second half of the page) in Venice 1894: *Koriwn, Patmut'iwn*; crit. ed. of *Koriwn I* by ABEŁEAN, *Koriwn*; extensive study by AKINEAN, *Koriwn* (= repr. of *Handes Amsorya* 63 (1949), p. 171-320); IDEM, *S. Maštoc' vardapet*; most recent edition by PIVAZYAN, *Koryun*. *Koriwn I* was translated into German by WEBER in *BKV I* (based on the edition of Venice 1894), p. 181-232; English by B. Norehad (with Armenian text, New York 1964, based on Abełean's ed. of Erevan 1941); *Koriwn II* was rendered in French by J.-R. Emine in LANGLOIS II (based on the edition of Venice 1854), p. 9-16. For a general survey on Koriwn see in addition TER-STEP'ANYAN, "Koryun" in AŁAYAN ET AL., p. 19-25.

> They sent [them] to Mesopotamia, to the city of Edessa:
> for whatever books of the holy early fathers they could find there,
> they were told to translate into our language[102] ...

Peeters seems to place the dispatch of Yovsēp' and Eznik in the period when Rabbula had already begun to proceed against Theodore of Mopsuestia while impinging upon Ibas' teaching position at the School of Edessa[103]. Peeters, however, does not dwell on the Syrian patriarchs who may have played a decisive role in the mission of Yovsēp' and Eznik. Now, if Brk'išo(y) or Š(a)muēl, and also Sahak and Maštoc', had known about the volatile situation in Edessa, they perhaps would have been reluctant to send the Armenians to Edessa for the purpose of studying and translating the extant Syriac literature. I am inclined to place the mission of Eznik and Yovsēp' in the period immediately preceding the turmoil in Edessa, that is in the early half of 432.

The Armenians apparently became profoundly influenced by Syriac expressions in regard to doctrinal issues. For example, in connection with the reference to the incarnation in the Creed, Eznik maintains the Syriac expression ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ ("*he put on a body*") while translating it into Armenian: *zgec'eal marmin*[104].

The Armenian delegation probably witnessed the doctrinal shift in Edessa, the dismissal of Ibas, and the burning of the writings of Theodore; and perhaps they even informed their superiors in Persarmenia about the events in Edessa. Both seem to have stayed in Edessa for quite some time, translating Syriac documents into Armenian. It was about 434 when they heard by coincidence that a group of Armenians had been sent to Constantinople by Sahak himself. Hearing about this development, Eznik and Yovsēp' hurried to the capital of the Empire[105] possibly at the instigation of Š(a)muēl[106].

[102] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 60; ABELEAN - YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 341; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 334; see also ABELEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 85.

[103] Cf. PEETERS, "Origines", p. 215-216.

[104] Eznik quotes the Creed in his letter of apology to Maštoc', which he wrote in Constantinople; cf. *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 130. For a study of the Creed cf. WINKLER, *Armenische Symbolstudien*; for the details in connection with this letter *cf. infra*, IV.

[105] For the claim of Movsēs Xorenac'i (lib. III, 60) and Koriwn that it was planned beforehand that Yovsēp' and Eznik should also go to Byzantium see now my forthcoming article ("Die spätere Überarbeitung der armenischen Quellen") in *Oriens Christianus* (1986) where I try to prove that it may have been Š(a)muēl who sent Yovsēp' and Eznik after Sahak's emissaries, Łewond and Koriwn, to keep an eye on the activities of Sahak. For Movsēs and Koriwn cf. ABELEAN - YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 341; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 334; ABELEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 85.

It may very well be that Rabbula used the opportunity of the presence of the Armenians to voice his opposition to the diphysite leanings of the Antiochean School. Yet no letter of Rabbula to the Armenian hierarchy has come down to us, in contrast to the correspondence of Acacius which has survived. The growing Antiochean influence in the Persarmenian Church, which entered Armenia through the mediation of Edessa, caused considerable apprehension in Melitene. Bishop Acacius eventually wrote a cautiously phrased letter to Sahak.

III. The beginning of the interference by Acacius of Melitene

Acacius' letter to Sahak[107] fits best in the context of the mission of Yovsēp' and Eznik in Edessa and the agreement which John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria had reached in 433. The unexpected union between Antioch and Alexandria, which had been very costly for the Patriarch of Antioch while Cyril's anathemata against Nestorius were sanctioned[108], provided an auspicious climate for Acacius to expand the gains on his own by reaching out to the Persarmenian Church. Thus we can tentatively date Acacius' letter to Sahak between 433 and 434[109]. With regard to the historicity of this document we have no reason to doubt it.

In his letter Acacius expresses his apprehension that followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius are teaching in Persarmenia:

(a) But we are afraid that perhaps some followers
(b) of the teaching[110] of Theodore of Mopsuestia [*T'ēodorea Mamuestea(y)*]
(c) and of the evil plague of Nestorius
(d) might be found [among you and] affect the simple people.
(e) For in regard to his (*znora*) writing which had remained,
(f) and especially [the one] which was written about the incarnation,
(g) when the question [concerning its orthodoxy] became apparent,
(h) a decree was issued by the holy bishops

[106] *Cf. infra*, IV, and previous note.

[107] Cf. *Girk' T'h'oc'*, p. 14-15; Latin translation by B. Mercier in Richard, "Acace", p. 394-396; French by Tallon, *Livre des lettres*, p. 20-33.

[108] *Cf. infra*, n. 331.

[109] Tallon (*Livre des lettres*, p. 23), Sarkissian (p. 113) et al. placed the letter in the year 432, which I consider slightly too early. For Acacius' disputable christology cf. Richard, "Acace", p. 401-403.

[110] I read *usumn* instead of *oxumn* (*oxmanēn*); see also *xumn* in Acacius' letter to the *naxarark'*, *cf. infra*, n. 254.

(i) at the Ecumenical Council which took place in the city of Ephesus
(j) to gather the entire writing and to burn [it][111].

Sarkissian understood the pronoun *znora* (e) as a reference to the writing of Theodore[112], whereas Tallon considered the pronoun to imply Nestorius[113]. Another alternative is to see in the allusion to *De incarnatione* (f), written by Theodore, a later interpolation[114], including perhaps also the explicit reference to Theodore (b). This is a possibility with which one has seriously to reckon given the fact that several Armenian documents, such as the Tome of Proclus, for example, included the name of Theodore when in fact the original had not referred to the famous bishop of Mopsuestia or his writings. On the other hand it is well known that Acacius was firmly convinced about two things concerning Theodore: (a) his theology was no better than that of Nestorius, (b) the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431 also included the works of Theodore[115], which of course was not the intention of Ephesus. Acacius of Melitene had attempted in vain to arouse public opinion against Theodore in connection with the mutual agreement between Alexandria and Antioch in 433[116]. Not much later, Acacius wrote to the Armenians in order to warn them about the followers of Nestorius including perhaps the disciples of Theodore, while insinuating that the writings of Theodore were allegedly also implied in the anathemata pronounced against Nestorius in Ephesus.

[111] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 15; Richard, "Acace", p. 396; Tallon, *Livre des lettres*, p. 32-33; Sarkissian, p. 114-115.

[112] Cf. Sarkissian, p. 115 (n. 1: "The Armenian article [*sic*] *znora* surely refers to Theodore and not to Nestorius"); the reasons are outlined on p. 228.

[113] Cf. Tallon, *Livre des lettres*, p. 33 (n. 1: "... la formule est trop claire pour prêter à discussion : il s'agit des écrits de Nestorius").

[114] So already Richard, "Acace", p. 404: "Il y a donc quelque brouille et l'on peut se demander si elle provient d'un remaniement du texte; n. 1: ... il suffirait de supprimer la mention du *De incarnatione* pour que la difficulté disparaisse : la phrase ["For in regard to his writing ..."; *cf. supra* (c)] se rapporterait alors à Nestorius dernier nommé" [*cf. supra* (c)].

[115] Richard ("Acace", p. 405) believes that Acacius was influenced by Rabbula's letter to Cyril which is a possibility; see also Richard's conclusion: "Voilà donc comme notre évêque apprit que Théodore et Nestorius étaient à mettre dans le même panier et que le concile d'Éphèse, en condamnant au feu les écrits du second, avait implicitement voué au même sort ceux de son maître en hérésie. C'est, somme toute, ce qui ressort, quoique un peu confusément de sa lettre à son collègue arménien". See in addition Inglisian, "Beziehungen", p. 40-42.

[116] *Cf. infra*, n. 165, 331.

The Response of Sahak

This document[117] presents some difficulties. One of the major problems consists in the considerable agreement with the second letter of Sahak, which he supposedly wrote to Proclus in reply to the Tome[118]. Moreover, the letter to Acacius is basically a non-committal response, and its general irrelevance makes one consider the possibility that it could be a pious forgery like Sahak's letter to Proclus which I believe to be definitely a fraud[119].

Towards the end of the letter to Acacius we find the following claim :

> But concerning the false doctrine, which you wrote us to abhor,
> to the present time — by the grace of God —
> nothing of the like has reached [us][120].

In the letter there are no questions about Ephesus, nor are Nestorius or Theodore referred to. The writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia surely were well appreciated in Armenia as we have known since the works of Peeters and Sarkissian[121]. All in all it is a highly evasive response. Now, it may very well be that Sahak deliberately kept his colleague in Melitene in suspense, but I suspect that the original reply possibly looked somewhat different. Could it be that Sahak had to some extent defended Antioch's christology, which the Persarmenian Church had received through Edessa, while indicating his desire to find out about the details of the Council of Ephesus which by that time were not fully known in Persarmenia? We have to allow some time in the process of clarification in doctrinal matters and the subsequent reorientation of Persarmenia's hierarchy. Thus some reserve vis-à-vis Sahak's reply to Acacius as it has come down to us may be quite appropriate.

IV. The mission of Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn

Acacius' letter to Sahak, combined with the unexpected doctrinal instability in Edessa, of which Sahak was probably appraised, and the

[117] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 16-18; Latin translation in Richard, "Acace", p. 396-398; French by Tallon, *Livre des Lettres*, p. 34-38.

[118] For a comparison of the two documents cf. text following n. 299.

[119] *Cf. infra*, V (3) and n. 247.

[120] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 18.

[121] In particular Peeters, "Origines", p. 208-211; idem, "Jérémie", p. 18-21; Sarkissian, p. 132, 134 *passim*.

rumors about Nestorius and his condemnation at the Council of Ephesus, were of such importance that Sahak, in collaboration with Mesrop Maštocʿ, decided to discretely send a delegation to Constantinople to make inquiries about the details of Ephesus and the diphysite leanings of Antiochean christology in general. Sahak had every reason to seek clarity from a third party, such as the Patriarch of Constantinople, given the growing anti-Antiochean sentiment around him: the doctrinally volatile situation in Edessa, having been brought about by Rabbula and communicated to Armenia in all likelihood by Yovsēpʿ and Eznik; also the denunciations of the Antiocheans by the bishop of Melitene, not to mention the disputes at home, that is the pro-Syrian party, headed by Patriarch Š(a)muēl, and his own inclinations toward a pro-Byzantine course of the Persarmenian Church despite the dangers such an orientation entailed.

According to Movsēs Xorenacʿi, it was Łewond and Koriwn, and possibly a certain Yovhan and Arjan, who were entrusted with this delicate mission[122]. But perhaps Koriwn presents a clearer picture when he refers only to himself and Łewondēs[123] (= Łewond). Later on Movsēs, too, mentions just Łewond and Koriwn, informing us that the Armenian delegation was well received by Patriarch Maximianus upon its arrival in Constantinople[124]. This requires some discussion. Maximianus succeeded Nestorius in 431 and he died in 434. Thus the mission of Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn occurred in 434 at the latest. But perhaps it was not Maximianus, but his successor Proclus who welcomed the Armenians in Constantinople. The inquiries of Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn resulted in Proclus' famous *Tomus ad Armenios* as we shall see. Hence we can tentatively suggest that Sahak sent Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn to Constantinople in 434, possibly even as late as 435, and that they were received perhaps by Proclus, not Maximianus who had died not long before in 434.

When Sahak decided to send an Armenian delegation to Byzantium, he had to proceed with utmost caution since the Persians readily inter-

[122] Cf. Movsēs Xorenacʿi, lib. III, 60; Abełean - Yarutʿiwnean, p. 341; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 334. With regard to Yovhan and Arjan the text runs as follows: "Then Yovhan and Arjan also arrived there [i.e. in Constantinople], who had been sent earlier by Sahak the Great and Mesrop ...".

[123] Cf. Abełean, *Koriwn*, p. 85-86.

[124] Cf. Movsēs Xorenacʿi, lib. III, 60; Abełean - Yarutʿiwnean, p. 341; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 334.

preted Armenia's connections with the Byzantine Empire as treason. After Sahak had been allowed to return from exile two years before in 432, the Persian King Vŕam had made him swear "to remain loyal" to Ctesiphon and "not to plan rebellion", stipulating as well not to venture into "sharing the heretical faith (*hawatakc'ut'iwn*) of the Greeks[125]." Hence it has to be assumed that Sahak sent Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn somewhat discretely to Constantinople. But he may equally have sought the support of the powerful Surmak who had close ties with Patriarch Ś(a)muēl.

The delicate mission was twofold as can be inferred[126] by the reply that the Armenians brought back from Constantinople in 435:
(a) to inquire about Nestorius and his repudiation at the Council of Ephesus,
(b) to seek clarification from Constantinople in regard to doctrinal issues which lead to the composition of the *Tomus ad Armenios* by Proclus.

When Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn returned from Constantinople, a synod was convoked in Aštišat. But before we go into the complicated evidence concerning this synod, we have to turn our attention once more to Eznik and Yovsēp' whom we left in Edessa.

The Letter of Eznik to Maštoc'

Yovsēp' and Eznik had been dispatched to Edessa for the purpose of translating the works of the Syrian Church Fathers. They must have been there for quite some time when one day, as Movsēs Xorenac'i reports,

> they received insinuating letters from some cajolers
> to the effect that Sahak the Great and Mesrop were preparing to send others
> [i.e. Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn] to Byzantium,
> upon which they promptly set out [and] went to Byzantium
> without permission of their own teachers ...

[125] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 65; ABELEAN - YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 351; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 343; *cf. supra*, text to n. 79.

[126] The letter which Sahak must have written to Proclus has not survived; only from a remark towards the end of Proclus' Tome do we know that such a letter has indeed existed; *cf. infra*, text to n. 198.

Being envious of them, their own fellow disciples,
whose names were Łewond and Koriwn,
out of their own accord they proceeded to them in Byzantium[127].

Koriwn keeps quiet about the objectionable mission of Eznik and Yovsēp' and their jealousy for Łewond(ēs) and himself, as he also remains taciturn about why he, Koriwn, and Łewond(ēs) had been sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Koriwn only says cryptically that they, upon reaching Eznik in the imperial City, "carried out unanimously the necessary spiritual inquiry[128]."

Eznik must have had a troubled conscience about their embarrassing journey to Constantinople for he wrote a remorseful letter to Mesrop Maštoc' while being in the capital of the Empire. Only some fragments have come down to us in the *Knik' Hawatoy*[129] and the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*[130]. According to the *Knik' Hawatoy* (p. 130) the title runs as follows:

(a) From the letter of the translator Eznik of Kołb,
(b) which he wrote in Constantinople to the blessed Vardapet Maštoc'
(c) after the prior Council of Ephesus,
(d) in which they decided about Nestorius, the Bishop of Constantinople.

Here we have to insert a passage from the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* (p. 1), not transmitted in the *Knik' Hawatoy*:

(e) Blessed [are those] who frequently can turn to the graceful vision of your countenance of godly beauty ...
(f) May also my ice-cold soul say:
(g) who could make me worthy to reach [you] and fall at [your] feet as a messenger and say:
(h) I have sinned against the heaven and against you, and I am not worthy to be called your son,
(i) but in your abundant compassion consider [me] as one of your hirelings ...

Then the text of the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* (pp. 1-2) is identical with that of the *Knik' Hawatoy* (p. 130):

(j) And in regard to the stability of the churches, which a gust of heresy, suddenly unleashed, presumed to shake,

[127] Cf. n. 105; AKINEAN, "Eznik", col. 615-617 (= *S. Maštoc' vardapet*, p. 221-225).

[128] Cf. n. 105; ABELEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 86; see also PEETERS, "Origines", p. 213.

[129] Cf. *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 130; *cf. supra*, n. 127.

[130] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 1-2. Here the letter is not attributed to Mesrop Maštoc', but erroneously forms part of the Tome of Proclus; *cf. supra*, n. 127; TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 50-53; *cf. infra*, n. 181.

(k) by your prayers to the holy Lord, [the gust] has calmed down.
(l) And all the bishops of the Romans have come to the agreement to firmly hold on to the original faith of the three hundred fathers,
(m) and they condemned anybody should he dare to propose some newly generated and alien faith.
(n) [They suggested] however, to build upon the same and to teach the very same faith:
(o) to confess the Christ as true God, Son of God, and Only-Begotten, born from the Father before all creatures[131] ...

The letter must have been written about 435, that is shortly before Eznik, Yovsēp', together with Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn returned to Persarmenia with the Tome of Proclus and the decisions of Ephesus. That the letter was written while Eznik was still in Constantinople is indicated in the heading (b), preserved in the *Knik' Hawatoy*. Of particular importance is the fact that nothing is said about Theodore of Mopsuestia; only Nestorius is mentioned (c-d). The immediate reason for the letter is Eznik's apology (e-i). The letter then offers a brief, but expressive statement about the storm, unlashed by the heresy of Nestorius, which threatened "to shake the stability of the churches" (j). The interesting Creed (o) with its explicit reference to Mary as the *theotokos* has been studied elsewhere[132].

Upon the return of the delegates the Synod of Aštišat was convoked.

V. The Synod of Aštišat in 435/436

The Synod of Aštišat causes major problems for there is considerable confusion in regard to the purpose, the broader context, and the date of this synod. The primary sources available lead to the formulation of three major problems which so far have remained unsolved:

(1) For what purpose was the synod convoked — because of Nestorius (so the Armenian witness) or because of Theodore (so a Latin document)?

(2) Did the Synod of Aštišat precede or follow the Tome of Proclus? The Armenian evidence presupposes the Tome of Proclus; in the Latin source the synod leads to the composition of the Tome.

[131] Here follows the Creed; for a complete (German) translation and study see my forthcoming *Armenische Symbolstudien*.

[132] Cf. previous note; Frivold, *The Incarnation*, p. 169-170.

(3) Was there a synod before and after the Tome of Proclus had been written? This hypothesis is based on the combination of the Latin and Armenian sources and avoids the discussion of the reliability of the Latin and Armenian documents.

Since the Synod of Aštišat has never been properly discussed, it would be useful to go into it in greater detail.

(1) The Armenian testimony knows of one synod only, namely the gathering of the bishops at Aštišat in 435[133] or 436 after the arrival of the *Tomus ad Armenios* by Proclus. The synod accepted the decisions of Ephesus with its rejection of Nestorius. A closer scrutiny of the Armenian witness and a careful study of the broader context indicates that the reliability of the evidence need not be called into question.

(2) Also the Latin sources refer to only one synod. Yet the purpose of this gathering is entirely different : the synod takes place in the context of the campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia and leads to the composition of the Tome of Proclus. The sixth century Latin evidence consists of the report by Innocentius Maroniae and the deacon Liberatus of Carthage[134]. They do not represent two independent witnesses for Liberatus depends on Innocentius[135]. The trustworthiness of Innocentius, and consequently that of Liberatus as well, has to be questioned as several scholars have rightly pointed out in connection with the historical development of the campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia. Considerable caution is necessary in using Innocentius and Liberatus since some passages are apparently fictitious[136], the sequence of events

[133] Cf. MXITAREANC', *Patmut'iwn*, p. 53; M. ÖRMANEAN, *Hayoc' Ekelec'in* ... (Beirut 1960), p. 24 (French translation : *L'Église arménienne*, p. 21); WEBER, *Kirche in Armenien*, p. 420. These scholars apparently had no knowledge of Innocentius and Liberatus.

[134] Cf. *Incipit sancti Innocentii episcopi Maroniae de his qui unum ex trinitate uel unam subsistentiam seu personam dominum nostrum Iesum Christum dubitant confiteri*; SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 68-74, in particular p. 68; *Incipit Breviarium causae nestorianorum et eutychianorum collectum a sancto Liberato archidiacono ecclesiae Karthaginis regionis sextae feliciter*; SCHWARTZ, *ACO* II/5, p. 98-141, in particular p. 110-111; for both cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 36-53.

[135] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 37-42; PEETERS, "Origines", p. 214 (n. 3); IDEM, "Rabboula", p. 161; DEVREESSE, "Début", p. 554 (n. 1) : "Le récit de Libératus dépend de celui d'Innocent de Maronie; ni l'un ni l'autre ne sont des chefs d'œuvre de clarté".

[136] E.g. the narration about Basilius; cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 254 (n. 11a); RICHARD, "Acace", p. 409 (n. 1); IDEM, "Proclus", p. 309-310 (n. 4). The following scholars treated Basilius as a historical figure : SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 26-27, 43; DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 141-142; SARKISSIAN, p. 145, ET AL.

is often not trustworthy[137], and the reasons offered for what happened is not always reliable[138]. Innocentius, followed by Liberatus, gives an erroneous sequence of events : (a) anti-Theodorean campaign of Acacius and Rabbula; (b) thus an Armenian synod is convoked (the place is unspecified); (c) the synod dispatches Leontius and Abelius to Proclus to obtain clarification about Theodore; (d) this in turn leads to Proclus' famous *Tomus ad Armenios*[139]. On the basis of the entire extant

[137] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 27 (n. 1); *cf. infra*, n. 261.

[138] *Ibid.*, p. 25 (n. 4); ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 254.

[139] INNOCENTIUS in *ACO* IV/2, p. 68 : "Post Nestorii damnationem, cum sectatores eius mortiferos libros illius in publicum proferre non possent, quia et anathematibus a sancta synodo quae primum aput Ephesum conuenerat, editis et imperiali constitutione prohibiti fuerant lectitari, cœperunt iam Theodori Mampsuestenæ ciuitatis episcopi, qui quondam Nestorii magister extiterat, circumferre uolumina et simplices quosque mortiferis laqueis inretire. tantum uero studii gesserunt per eum eiusdem Nestorii dilatare contagia, ut ipsa uolumina eius ad læsionem et interitum simplicissimarum, ut dictum est, animarum in linguam Syrorum Armeniorum Persarumque transferrent. sed ubi hæc agnouerunt beatæ memoriæ uiri Rabbula Edessenæ et Acacius Melitinæ ciuitatis antistites, scripserunt in Armeniam sanctis episcopis ne ea susciperent, apostolice denuntiantes atque dicentes : uidete canes, uidete malos operarios, uidete concisionem. Ciliciæ uero episcopis insimulantibus eosdem uiros Rabbulam et Acacium quod non ex caritate hoc, sed ex æmulatione atque contentione fecissent, in unum omnes Armeniæ regionis sanctissimi conuenientes episcopi duos uenerabiles presbyteros Leontium et Abelium ad urbem regiam Constantinopolim destinarunt; qui libellos pro more facientes nec non et unum uolumen blasphemiarum Theodori deferentes secum beatissimo Proclo Constantinopolitanæ urbis archiepiscopo supplices obtulerunt, scire desiderantes quænam doctrina, utrum Theodori an Rabbulæ et Acacii episcoporum uera esse probaretur. beatissimus itaque Proclus et libellos Armeniorum et uolumen Theodori diligenter examinans, admirabilem illam ad Armenios scripsit epistolam".

LIBERATUS X in *ACO* II/5, p. 110-111 : "Nestorii namque sectatores uidentes libros illius blasphemos non posse proferri in publicum eo quod synodo Ephesena anathemate fuerant condemnati et imperiali lege prohibitum fuerat ne quis eos legeret aut defenderet, tunc cœperunt Diodori Tarsensis et Theodori Mompsuestenæ ciuitatis episcopi et aliorum episcoporum qui contra Eunomium et Apollinarem unius naturæ adsertores libros conposuerant duas in Christo ostendentes naturas in una persona, quod Nestorius sic non dixerat, circumferre uolumina et simplicissimos quosque decipere cupientes aiebant non sapuisse noua Nestorium, sed antiquorum patrum prosecutum fuisse doctrinam et in tantum studii gesserunt, ut ipsa eorum uolumina malitiose in Syrorum linguam et Armeniorum atque Persarum transferrent. sed ubi hæc agnouerunt Acacius Melitinensis et Rabula Edessenæ ciuitatis episcopus, de quo Ibas successor eius in epistola sua dicit : hunc præsumpsit, qui omnia præsumit, aperte in ecclesia anathematizare, scilicet de Theodoro Mompsuesteno superius loquens, scripserunt Armeniæ episcopis ne Theodori Mompsuesteni libros susciperent tamquam hæretici et auctoris dogmatis Nestoriani, insimulantibus episcopis Ciliciæ Rabulam et Acacium quod hoc non ex caritate, sed ex æmulatione atque contentione fecissent. congregati sunt ergo in unum uenerabiles Armeniæ episcopi et miserunt duos presbyteros Leontium et Abelium ad Proclum Constantinopolitanum episcopum secundum morem cum libellis suis et uno uolumine Theodori Mompsuesteni, scire uolentes utrum doctrina Theodori an Rabulæ et Acacii

evidence I have established the following sequence: (1) the campaign against Theodore by Rabbula and Acacius initially found no echo in Persarmenia; (2) because of (a) the diphysite tenets of Nestorius, which shook the capital and reverberated in the entire Christian East, (b) the repudiation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus, (c) the doctrinal instability in Edessa, (d) the letter of Acacius with its restrained and cautiously formulated denunciation of Antiochean christology, Sahak had decided to send a delegation (consisting of Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn) to Proclus in Constantinople to make inquiries into the decisions of Ephesus and related doctrinal matters; (3) the Armenian emissaries returned to Persarmenia with the details about Ephesus and the Tome of Proclus of 435; (4) the Synod of Aštišat in 435 or 436 accepted the decisions of Ephesus and thus rejected Nestorius; the doctrinal deliberations in connection with the Tome of Proclus led to a synodal letter with a defensive *professio fidei*; (5) the libellus of Leontius and Abelius followed these events and has to be interpreted as a reaction to the conclusions of the Synod of Aštišat. This proleptic overview will facilitate a better understanding of the sequence and nature of events.

Several scholars seemingly knew only the Latin evidence of Innocentius and Liberatus, and thus they followed their erroneous outline in regard to what happened allegedly *in Armenia*[140] while readily voicing scepticism about their reliability outside of the Armenian context where they had felt solid ground under their feet, and where Greek and other Latin sources permitted them to challenge the testimony of Innocentius and Liberatus[141].

Already by the sixth century when Innocentius composed his narration for the purpose of Theodore's final repudiation, the material and correspondence available to him was incomplete and defective. The cause for these *lacunae* is undoubtedly connected with the main protagonists in respect to the embarrassing agitation against Theodore of Mopsuestia: Rabbula, Acacius, and Cyril, including the double-

uera esse probaretur. itaque Proclus accipiens Armeniorum libellos et illud Theodori uolumen, diligentius utraque examinans, tomum Armeniis scripsit et destinauit, in quo posuit ad interimendas Nestorianorum uersutias, qui duas in Christo inducunt personas, unum de trinitate incarnatum".

[140] E.g. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 25; PEETERS, "Origines", p. 215, 217; IDEM, "Jérémie", p. 22; DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 139.

[141] E.g. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 25 (n. 4), 27 (n. 1) *et passim*.

faced Proclus. They had no reason for keeping accurate records of their shameful dealings, as will be seen shortly[142].

(But also by the sixth and seventh century the Armenians had a vested interest to do away with the documents or to alter them if they revealed Armenia's previous connections with Edessa and Antiochean christology with its diphysite leanings.)

Consequently, already by the sixth century it was difficult to establish with certainty where and when the anti-Theodorean campaign precisely took place, and who sent whom which documents and for what purpose[143]. Thus it is not surprising if Innocentius is sometimes inaccurate, or when his concatenation of events is somewhat distorted. In particular Richard, but also Schwartz have pointed out that Innocentius and Liberatus have little credibility in regard to their outline of the campaign against Theodore[144]. These scholars voiced their doubts about Innocentius and Liberatus in connection with what happened outside of Armenia. We have to add our scepticism about their reliability concerning the events in Armenia.

(3) Some scholars combined the Latin and Armenian authors, and thus erroneously assumed that there had been two synods, one in 432 and the other in 435[145]. Grousset, Tallon *et. al.* apparently on the one hand followed Innocentius and Liberatus (or the authors who had based their outline on Innocentius and Liberatus), opting thus for a synod in 432 which remained undecided about the orthodoxy of Theodore's writings, and which allegedly sent Leontius and Abelius to Proclus for clarification about Theodore; and on the other hand they also integrated the Armenian authors who indicated that the composition of the Tome of Proclus had happened prior to the Synod of Aštišat in 435. The scholars, who belong to this group frequently added that the works of Theodore had allegedly been condemned at this second synod[146]. I was unable to find any evidence which would

[142] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 303 (n. 1): "Aucun des principaux acteurs de cette tragi-commédie n'avait intérêt à en immortaliser le souvenir. Aussi le dossier relatif à ces évènements s'est-il fort mal conservé. Il était déjà trés incomplet au siècle d'Innocent de Maronie et du diacre Liberatus".

[143] So already ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 278.

[144] Cf. n. 136, 141, 261.

[145] Cf. GROUSSET, *Histoire*, p. 186; ISSAVERDENS, *Armenia*, p. 79-80; TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 23 (Tallon refers to Movsēs Xorenac'i and Łazar P'arpec'i, which is clearly wrong), see also p. 24, 25, 26, 46; TOURNEBIZE, *Histoire*, p. 77-78, 86, 635.

[146] Cf. ISSAVERDENS, *Armenia*, p. 80.

support the repudiation of Theodore's writings at the Synod of Aštišat in 435/436.

(4) In addition, there are scholars who correctly remain with one synod only, while erroneously asserting that the decisions of Aštišat in 435 included the rejection of Theodore's christology[147].

(5) But there are also authors who do not deal with this crucial synod at all[148]. Sarkissian, for example, quotes the lengthy narration of Innocentius in its entirety, but ignores the meaning and the implications of the cited Latin text altogether. There is no discussion about this synod on the basis of Innocentius and Liberatus[149]. The Armenian evidence in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* apparently was unknown to Sarkissian: he does not refer to the Synod of Aštišat anywhere in his book.

What follows now is a survey on the Synod of Aštišat based on Armenian evidence and supportive documents. The veracity of their testimony will be discussed when necessary. The problematic nature of the report of Innocentius (and Liberatus) will be taken up again in connection with the Libellus of Leontius and Abelius and the alleged reply of Proclus to this libellus.

(1) *The History of the Synods Attributed to Yovhan Imastasēr*

In the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* we find a survey on the various councils which is ascribed to Catholicos Yovhan Imastasēr. The first council listed is that of Nicea, the second of Constantinople, and the third council mentioned is that of Aštišat which accepted the decisions of Ephesus[150]. This synod, which is of utmost importance, has escaped Sarkissian[151] as already noted. The evidence is of prime significance since it refers to the arrival of the Tome of Proclus and the recognition of the Council of Ephesus with the condemnation of Nestorius. The date for the Synod of Aštišat is determined by the reference to the Tome of Proclus, which was composed in 435. Thus we can safely establish the year 435 or 436 as the date for this synod.

[147] Cf. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, p. 225.

[148] Cf. Inglisian, "Beziehungen", p. 35-50; Vardanian, "Briefwechsel", p. 415-419; Sarkissian, p. 111-147.

[149] Cf. Sarkissian, p. 129, 138, 227-230.

[150] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 220.

[151] One would have expected some indications in connection with Sarkissian's outline of "The testimony of the Armenian historiographers", p. 128-129.

The text "concerning the synods, which took place among the Armenians, [compiled] by Yovhan Imastasēr, Catholicos of the Armenians" runs as follows[152]:

> The third synod:
> (a) The holy Sahak and blessed Mesrop convoked [it] in Aštišat
> (b) at the time when the letters of Cyril and Proclus arrived,
> (c) [and when] they accepted [the decisions of] the two hundred[153] fathers in Ephesus[154],
> (d) at the time when they established the *Gloria in excelsis*,
> (e) by spreading [them][155] in [their] pastoral communications
> (f) [and] by protecting themselves against the cursed Nestorius.

Comments:

(1) Somewhat curious is the assertion that Sahak and Maštoc' allegedly convoked the synod while omitting any reference to Š(a)muēl, the Syrian Patriarch of the Persarmenian Church at that time. He must have been a decisive factor in regard to the synod, even though Sahak may have instigated the gathering of the bishops. The emphasis on the role of Sahak and Maštoc' is misleading and has to be attributed to nationalistic rewriting of history[156]. The Armenian historiographers dismissed the Syrian patriarchs as intruders, thus purposely forgetting that the Armenians themselves had been decisively involved in the process of determining the leadership in the Persarmenian Church.

(2) It is said that the Synod of Aštišat took place when the letter of Proclus arrived (a-b). No direct causal connection is established between the convocation of the synod and the Tome of Proclus. This could lead to the conclusion that the primary reason for assembling the bishops at Aštišat was to accept the decisions of Ephesus, and that the Tome of Proclus figured as a subordinate part of the synod. However, given the fact that the Tome played a decisive role in the christological disputes in the years after Ephesus, as we will see, there can be little doubt that Proclus had sent his Tome to the Armenians as an official

[152] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 220.

[153] Also mentioned in the letter of Acacius to the *naxarark'* in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 20 (see also p. 53, 55 *passim*); Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. III, 61; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 342; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 335; *Kanonagirk' Hayoc'* II, p. 244, 329; Mxit'ar Ayrivank', only the French translation was accessible to me: Brosset, *Histoire*, p. 66.

[154] For the canons of Ephesus cf. *Kanonagirk' Hayoc'* I, p. 277-281.

[155] I.e. the decisions of Ephesus and the alleged *Gloria in excelsis*.

[156] *Cf. infra*, VIII.

and authoritative document of orthodox christology. Indeed, the Tome was meant to carry all the authority which Proclus had at his command as the Patriarch of the imperial City. It remains to be seen whether the Armenian historiographers had particular reasons for playing down the significance of the Tome and the events surrounding the dispatch of this weighty christological document.

(3) Some reservations have to be voiced in regard to the inclusion of an alleged letter from Cyril of Alexandria at this juncture of events[157], despite the fact that also Movsēs Xorenacʻi vaguely alludes to letters from "the bishops of Alexandria" in this context[158]. Yet Movsēs is not a reliable witness as will be seen shortly.

(4) Of prime importance is the fact that nothing is said about Theodore of Mopsuestia and his christology; only Nestorius is explicitly referred to (f) along with the Council of Ephesus (c) which repudiated Nestorius in 431. In this regard the trustworthiness of the Armenian evidence cannot be questioned.

(5) Somewhat surprising is the reference to the *Gloria in excelsis* (d). One would have expected some indications about the *Trisagion* rather than the *Gloria*, as in the *Diegesis* (§§ 17-18)[159]:

> 17 Καὶ τῷ ἔτει τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ μικροῦ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο ἡ τρίτη σύνοδος τῶν διακοσίων πατέρων οἳ ἀνεθεμάτισαν Νεστόριον.
>
> 18 Καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν σύνοδον ἡρμόσθη τὸ «Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός» παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πρόκλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ...

The *Diegesis* says in connection with the reference to the condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus that the *Trisagion* was «ἡρμόσθη». In this context ἁρμόζω can be compared with *kargem*[160] in Yovhan Imastasēr's

[157] Cyril will become later on *the* significant factor in Armenia's doctrinal position, but during the period in question Armenia's contacts with Alexandria are marginal. Claims like those of V. Nersessian (in his survey on "The christological position of the Armenian Apostolic Church" in: Heyer, *Kirche Armeniens*, p. 71: "Aufgrund ... historische[r] Verknüpfung war die Orientierung der armenischen Kirche hinsichtlich dogmatischer Fragen immer [!] vom Denken der alexandrinischen Schule bestimmt ... Die ersten Väterschriften, die ins Armenische übersetzt wurden, waren die des Hl. Basilius, Gregors von Nazianz, Gregors von Nyssa, Johannes Chrysostomus', Ephräm des Syrers ... Diese Schriften waren in der Art und Weise, wie sie christologische Probleme ... behandelten, vorwiegend alexandrinisch bestimmt [!] ...") cannot be reconciled with the historical facts.

[158] *Cf. infra*, text following n. 162 [i.e. 2(b)].

[159] Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 28.

[160] *Ibid.*, p. 77: "Il est difficile de déterminer le sens exact de ce verbe dans le

account of the Synod of Aštišat (d) : "... at the time when they *established* (*kargec'in*) the — [*Trisagion*]."

It has to be suspected that originally not the *Gloria in excelsis*, but in all likelihood the *Trisagion* was referred to in Yovhan's account of the synod as in the *Diegesis*.

Also Movsēs Xorenac'i reports about Ephesus and the subsequent events in Persarmenia, combining several different events in his outline, namely (1) the condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus, (2) some letters of warning against the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, (3) the arrival of the «translators» in Aštišat[161] :

[1. *The condemnation of Nestorius*]

(a) In those times the impious Nestorius unworthily sat on the episcopal throne of the Byzantines ...
(b) and following the Jewish understanding he blasphemed the all-holy virgin as being the mother of man and not the *theotokos* ...
(c) Therefore the holy fathers gathered in Asia at Ephesus ... altogether two hundred[162] fathers [and] they anathematized Nestorius ...

[2. *The warning about the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia*]

(a) And since Sahak the Great and Mesrop were not present at the Council,
(b) the bishops of Alexandria, Proclus of Constantinople, and Acacius of Melitene wrote to them putting them on guard.
(c) For they had heard that some of his unorthodox disciples had gone to the country of the Armenians, taking the books of Theodore of Mopsuestia (*T'ēodorosi Mamuestac'woy*), the teacher of Nestorius and disciple of Diodore[163].

[3. *The arrival of the translators in Aštišat*]

(a) Then our translators came [i.e. Łewond, Koriwn, Eznik, and Yovsēp'], whose names we mentioned earlier :
(b) they found Sahak the Great and Mesrop in Aštišat of Tarōn;

contexte où il se trouve ici ..." Garitte compares then ἁρμόζω with *yarmarem* ("to adopt", "to arrange"). I believe, however, that ἁρμόζω receives its clarification through *kargem* in Yovhan Imastasēr's survey on the Synod of Aštišat.

[161] Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 61; ABEŁEAN-YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 342-343; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 335-336.

[162] Cf. n. 153.

[163] There is some confusion about the name : the text in the critical edition (ABEŁEAN - YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 343) gives *T'ēodor*, the codices c, r, s, however, *Deodori*, i.e. Diodore of Tarsus, which is the correct reading.

(c) they presented the letters and canons of the Council of Ephesus, consisting of six canons.
(d) and accurate copies of the Scriptures.

Movsēs Xorenac'i has nothing to say about the consequences in regard to the news about the Council of Ephesus and the letters which is quite surprising[164]. The Synod of Aštišat is not mentioned. Movsēs only says that the translators "found Sahak ... and Mesrop in Aštišat" (3b). The avoidance of any report about the important synod in Aštišat raises suspicion. Why is there no indication about the crucial decisions of the Synod of Aštišat, which repudiated the diphysite christology of Nestorius? There must have been weighty reasons to keep quiet about Aštišat. We have to come back to this omission later on.

Even more curious than the silence about the synod is the insertion of the warning about the writings of Theodore in connection with the Council of Ephesus (2a-c). There had been no pronouncement about Theodore, neither in Ephesus in 431, nor in the communications between Antioch and Alexandria in connection with their reconciliation in 433 or in the Imperial Constitution of 435 or 436[165]. It should also be remembered that the Synod of Aštišat had not even mentioned Theodore of Mopsuestia[166].

The only historically reliable indications in Movsēs Xorenac'i are the absence of Sahak (and Mesrop Maštoc') at the Council of Ephesus (2a) and the reference to the letter of Acacius of Melitene (2b) who indeed had warned Sahak shortly before the Synod of Aštišat[167], and who wrote once more to the Armenians later on as we shall see. The Tome of Proclus alluded to (2b) expressed no reservations in regard to the writings of Theodore; indeed not even his name is mentioned[168].

[164] *Cf.* Sarkissian, p. 129.

[165] Only Acacius of Melitene had requested the inclusion of the condemnation of Theodore's writings during the deliberations of the union between Alexandria and Antioch. He was unsuccessful; cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 25 (n. 3); Abramowski, "Streit", p. 254. For the date of the Imperial Constitution cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 21 (later corrected by Schwartz to 436; cf. Abramowski, *op. cit.*, p. 253 [n. 9]). The followers of Nestorius only, not Theodore, were addressed in the Imperial Constitution of Theodosius II. Subsequently Cyril of Alexandria attempted in 436 to include the repudiation of the Antiochean christology in general. Yet also this attempt remained unsuccessful; cf. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22.

[166] *Cf. supra*, text following n. 152.

[167] *Cf. supra*, III.

[168] *Cf. infra*, (2)2.

Thus it has to be suspected that the passage about the writings of Theodore (2c) did not originally belong to this particular part of the narration. It could be that the report about the letter of Proclus formed the original nucleus to which were then added the letters of Cyril and Acacius, which in turn attracted the inclusion of the campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia[169]. No letter from Alexandria (i.e. from Cyril) to Sahak has been preserved. It can legitimately be surmised that his name was later interpolated, for it was well known how strongly Cyril had opposed Antiochean christology[170].

As in Movsēs Xorenac'i, so also in Koriwn is nothing said about the impact the news about Ephesus must have had on the Persarmenian Church :

(a) [He and Łewond(ēs), including Eznik and Yovsēp'] came to, [and] appeared in the country of the Armenians,
(b) with reliable copies of the God-given Scriptures,
(c) and with many subsequent traditions, written with divine grace by the fathers,
(d) and with the canons of Nicea[171] and Ephesus,
(e) and they placed the testaments, which they had brought, before the fathers of the holy Church[172].

If we had no knowledge of the Synod of Aštišat, we could come to the conclusion that Ephesus left no imprint on the fifth century Armenian Church. Yet the question remains: how important was the assembly of the bishops in Aštišat given the fact that none of the Armenian historiographers, who report the events of that period, had anything to convey about it? Neither Łazar P'arpec'i nor Movsēs Xorenac'i or

[169] The theological tenets of Theodore of Mopsuestia are also challenged in Koriwn, but not in the context of the return of the translators from Constantinople. The report can be found towards the end of his book. Also there the passage about Theodore seems to be an artificial insertion as Akinean correctly suspected; cf. AKINEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 44, 104-105 [n. 75]; (this is a reprint from *Handes Amsorya* 63 (1949), p. 252, 311-312 [n. 75]) also quoted in SARKISSIAN, p. 128 (n. 1). Akinean's theory that the passage about Theodore belongs to the context of the Armenian delegation, who visited Constantinople has to be rejected. For more details on Theodore, *cf. infra*, VIII.

[170] Cf. n. 165.

[171] *Koriwn II* also mentions Nicea; cf. LANGLOIS II, p. 12. Yet the indication of Yovhan Imastasēr's survey on the Synod of Aštišat and Movsēs Xorenac'i is more reliable; the emissaries sent by Sahak came back with the decisions of Ephesus only. The Armenians were appraised about Nicea prior to the Synod of Aštišat: Aristakēs, the successor of Gregory the Illuminator, had participated in the Council of Nicea; for further indications cf. GARITTE, *Narratio*, p. 57; IDEM, *Documents*, p. 331-332, 422.

[172] Cf. ABELEAN, *Koriwn*, p. 86.

Koriwn refer to this synod. Can we deduce from this omission that the synod was an event in which neither Sahak nor Mesrop Maštoc' played a prominent role, regardless of the insistence of Yovhan Imastasēr that it was Sahak and Mesrop who convoked the synod[173]? Or rather, were there some significant reasons why these authors avoided providing information about the events of Aštišat? This is an important question to which we have to return later on.

Also the lack of any reference to Š(a)muēl, the Patriarch of the Persarmenian Church, is incongruent with the historical facts. From what we know about Š(a)muēl, he had a firm hold over what went on in the Armenian Church at his time[174].

From the evidence presented by Yovhan Imastasēr, we can conclude that the Synod of Aštišat was convened predominantly to discuss the decisions of Ephesus[175]. Consequently the teaching of Nestorius was rejected. Nothing is said about Theodore of Mopsuestia. That the decisions of Ephesus were brought to Armenia at that time is also mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac'i and Koriwn. In addition, Movsēs indicates that the translators returned to Aštišat, yet no explicit reference is made to the Synod of Aštišat by either one. We have to come back to the reasons why this synod has been so poorly transmitted in the Armenian sources.

Besides the acceptance of the Council of Ephesus, the bishops present at Aštišat also seemingly deliberated on the revision of the bible translations on the basis of the Greek texts. That the translators came back from Constantinople with copies of the Scriptures is mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac'i and Koriwn.

The Synod of Aštišat apparently also discussed the Tome of Proclus[176]. This important document and the subsequent events have to be discussed at some length.

(2) *The Tomus ad Armenios by Proclus*

The Tome of Proclus is referred to by Yovhan Imastasēr, Movsēs Xorenac'i, and vaguely alluded to in Koriwn.

[173] *Cf. supra*, text following n. 152.
[174] *Cf. supra*, II (2).
[175] Cf. Mxit'areanc', *Patmut'iwn*, p. 53; Weber, *Kirche in Armenien*, p. 420.
[176] Cf. Weber, *loc. cit.*

Yovhan Imastasēr: "... Sahak and ... Mesrop convoked the synod in Aštišat at the time when the letter of ... Proclus arrived[177] ..."
Movsēs Xorenac'i: "And since Sahak ... and Mesrop were not present at the Council [of Ephesus], the bishops of Alexandria, Proclus of Constantinople, and Acacius wrote to them[178] ..."
Koriwn: "[Łewond(ēs) *et. al.*] came to ... the country of the Armenians ... with many ... traditions, written with divine grace by the fathers[179] ..."

In order to understand the significance of the evidence in Yovhan Imastasēr we have to comment on the Tome of Proclus in its Greek[180], Armenian[181], Syriac[182], and Latin text[183].

177 Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 220; for the sake of clarity I have excluded the letter of Cyril which is also mentioned; *cf. supra*, text to n. 157.

178 Cf. MOVSĒS XORENAC'I, lib. III, 61; ABEŁEAN-YARUT'IWNEAN, p. 342; THOMSON, *Moses*, p. 335.

179 Cf. n. 172.

180 I use the edition of SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. (185) 187-195.

181 The Armenian version as it has come down to us poses major problems since its *Textgestalt* is defective and fragmented. The Tome is partially transmitted in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 1-8 and in the *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 109-112; cf. TALLON, *Livre de lettres*, p. 51-52. In addition, a part of the first section does not belong to the Tome of Proclus, but derives from a letter of Eznik Kołbac'i to Mesrop Maštoc'; cf. *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 130; TALLON, *op. cit.*, p. 49-53; VARDANIAN, "Briefwechsel", p. 420-421 (with German translation). The Armenian text was reconstructed by VARDANEAN, "T'ułt' Prokłeay", col. 1-25. The end of the Tome (Armenian with German translation) can also be found in VARDANIAN, "Briefwechsel", p. 422-424; French translation of the entire Tome by TALLON, *op. cit.*, p. 53-71, which is based on Vardanean's edition.

182 Several versions are extant; for a most recent and carefully prepared survey cf. VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", published in the *Festschrift* for Prof. Van Roey. (I want to thank the author for his generosity in making his unpublished manuscript accessible to me.) The extant versions are included in:

(1) The Syriac *Historia ecclesiastica* attributed to Zacharias Rhetor; cf. critical edition of BROOKS, [*textus*], p. 127-143; [*versio*], p. 88-99; English translation in HAMILTON - BROOKS, *Syriac Chronicle*, p. 24-38; German by AHRENS - KRÜGER, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. *27-*41. Schwartz included the Syriac version in the crit. app. of his edition of the Greek text of Proclus (in *ACO* IV/2, p. 186: *sig.*: Σ), using the edition of LAND, *Anecdota*, p. 103-115.

(2) *Cod. Brit. Libr. Add. 14.557*, publ. by BEDJAN, *Nestorius*, p. 596-615, also included by Schwartz in his crit. app. of the Greek text of the Tome in *ACO* IV/2, p. 186: *sig.*: S.

(3) *Cod. Brit. Libr. Add. 12.156*, unpublished, known since Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 644. The important colophon was also referred to by PEETERS, "Jérémie", p. 21; IDEM, "Rabboula", p. 160, and "Origines", p. 209; DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 239-240 (n. 6); and most recently VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", p. 429-430.

(4) For the extant fragments see the excellent overview in VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", p. 430-431.

183 The Latin text is transmitted by Dionysius Exiguus and preceded by an introduc-

The Latin version provides an indication when the Tome was composed: AD 435, shared by the Armenian text. Here, however, the date was subsequently added to the manuscript by another scribe, and thus its independent value has to be questioned[184].

For this investigations two questions have to be answered: (1) to whom is the Tome addressed? (2) Did the Tome originally form part of the campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia?

1. The address

The various versions do not agree with each other, as a brief glance into the beginning of the Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Latin texts shows.

Greek: Τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ θεοσεβεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίταις τοῖς οὖσι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Πρόκλος ἐν κυρίωι χαίρειν[185].

Armenian: (*Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 1)
Թուղթ Պրոկղեայ եպիսկոպոսի առ սուրբն Սահակ հայրապետ Հայոց և առ սուրբն Մաշտոց
(*Letter of Bishop Proclus to the holy Sahak, Patriarch of the Armenians, and the holy Maštoc'* [*Maždoc'*])

(*Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 109)
Նորին՝ ի թղթոյն, որ առ սուրբն Սահակ Հայրապետն, Պրոկղի
(*Of the same, from the letter which Proclus* [*wrote*] *to the holy Sahak, Patriarch of the Armenians*)

Syriac: (*Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori*[186])
... Epistula Procli summi sacerdotis ipsius Constantinopolis ad Armenios, [quae] praestantissima est et viri fidem indicat. Et in memoriam [eius] eam excripsimus in utilitatem fratrum nostrorum fidelium.
For *Codices Brit. Libr. Add. 14.557*[187] and *12.156* (unpublished) cf.

tion, which places the Tome of Proclus in the context of the campaign against Theodore; cf. ed. by SCHWARTZ in *ACO* IV/2, p. 196-197 (= introduction), 197-205 (= text).

[184] Cf. TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 71: "Le Ms. des Antonins porte cette remarque: 'Mention ajoutée par une main étrangère, dans le but d'indiquer la date de composition du Tome de Proclus'. Le fondement de cette mention doit être l'indication que porte la traduction de Denis le Petit". For the date in the Latin version cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 205.

[185] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 187; for the variant reading cf. crit. app.

[186] Cf. BROOKS, [*versio*], p. 88; [*textus*] p. 127; SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 187 (crit. app., *sig.* Σ).

[187] Cf. BEDJAN, *Nestorius*, p. 596; SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 187 (crit. app., *sig.* S).

Brooks (*Versio*, p. 88: "Textus syr. eiusdem vers. in 14557 ... et alius vers. in Add. 12156 ... exstat. Usque ad ... l. 21 noster textus cum his nihil commune habet ...)"

Latin: Venerabilibus et sanctis episcopis, presbyteris atque archimandritis commanentibus per omnem Armeniam sanctae catholicae ecclesiae Proclus in domino salutem[188].

Only the Armenian version claims that Proclus had addressed his Tome to "Sahak, Patriarch of the Armenians" (cf. *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 109), to which the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* (p. 1) adds "and the holy Maštoc'." Neither the Greek original nor the other versions refer to Sahak (or Maštoc'). We have to conclude that the Armenian version reflects a later deviation from the original address to "the bishops and presbyters and archimandrites" of Armenia. The Tome of Proclus certainly was never addressed to Sahak[189]. This fact leads to further hypothetical inferences:

(1) That the address does not explicitly mention Š(a)muēl, the official Patriarch of the Persarmenian Church, could indicate existing political tensions between Constantinople and Ctesiphon. This omission, however, is more likely connected with the fact that it was Sahak who had sent an Armenian delegation to Proclus for advice. The dispatch of Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn by Sahak very likely occured unobtrusively in order not to arouse the suspicion of the Persian King Vřam who had explicitly warned Sahak not to establish contacts with Byzantium[190].

(2) However, it is also conceivable that Proclus wanted to avoid any entanglement in the existing tensions between Sahak and Š(a)muēl[191]. On the other hand, the Tome could be discretely inserted in the deliberations of the Synod of Aštišat since it accompanied the report on the decisions of Ephesus and its canons[192].

(3) That the Tome is addressed to the entire episcopacy shows moreover, that Proclus intended his Tome to be interpreted as an official

[188] Cf. Schwartz, *ACO* IV/2, p. 197; for variants cf. crit. app.

[189] *pace* Sarkissian, Inglisian, Vardanean et al.

[190] *Cf. supra*, text to n. 79.

[191] Cf. the theory developed in my forthcoming article in *Oriens Christianus*, and n. 105.

[192] It would be interesting to investigate a possible connection between the Armenian addition of the Tome of Proclus to the canons of Ephesus and the fact that some Greek mss added the Tome of Proclus to the Acts of the Council of Ephesus. Perhaps this congruency is just accidental, yet the matter deserves some attention. For the Greek evidence cf. Schwartz, *ACO* IV/2, p. xxvii.

christological document, and that the Tome was not a private communication to an Armenian prelate. The decisions of Ephesus with the repudiation of diphysite christology and the Tome of Proclus with its important christological statements required the convocation of a synod, and thus it is quite understandable that Proclus addressed his Tome to all the bishops of Persarmenia.

2. The Tome of Proclus and the campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia

Of special interest is the ending of the Armenian version since it is indicative of what happened with the Tome. But first let us briefly look into the entire text.

The Greek Original[193]:

(a) The unorthodox teachers mentioned in the Tome do not include Theodore, only Arius, Eunomius, and Macedonius are listed as heretics[194].

(b) A few lines further down Proclus speaks of "that blasphemy [*versio syr.* Σ *add*: "of Nestorius"][195] newly fabricated (νεότευκτον) and just occured (καινὴν) which far exceeds Judaism in blasphemy[196]."

(c) The text begins with a reference to "the tidings about the new weeds of deceit, which the universal adversary ... has just sown in your country.[197]"

(d) And the Tome ends with the following statement: "This we dispatched to your Belovedness, impelled by the libellus which you have sent to us, telling [us] that some people, who are corrupt and story-tellers, have come to your country with the intent to pervert the simple and unadorned beauty of the right faith through evil writings and arguments of fallacious knowledge[198]."

The Syrian scribe had correctly understood whom Proclus had in mind while speaking of the "newly fabricated and just occured

[193] The subsequent outline is also indicated in VAN ROMPAY's noteworthy essay "Proclus", p. 426-427.

[194] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 193 (24-26).

[195] *Ibid.*, (crit. app.); BROOKS, [*versio*] p. 96 (21).

[196] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 193 (27-28); VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", 426 (and the important n. 87).

[197] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 187 (4-5).

[198] *Ibid.*, p. 195 (5-9).

blasphemy" when he added "of Nestorius" (b). This passage contains no hidden allusion to Theodore of Mopsuestia. Indeed, Theodore is never mentioned.

But what is meant with "the new weeds of deceit" which apparently had just been sown in Persarmenia (c); and who are "the people who are corrupt and story-tellers" (d)? It is conceivable that these are allusions to the diphysite leanings of the Syrian teachers who had come to Persarmenia in the entourage of the Syrian Patriarch Š(a)muēl, including the Antiochean christology of the Persarmenian Church in general, which Armenia had accepted through the mediation of Edessa. Proclus replies to the letter[199] which the Armenian delegation had brought along. It contained specific inquiries. Whether the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia were included in Sahak's inquiries has to remain open. From the wording of Proclus' response no inference can be made about allusions to Theodore. On the contrary, the reply of Proclus seemingly avoided any reference to Theodore, should Sahak's request for clarification indeed have asked about the writings of Theodore. Moreover, the available historical data suggests that Proclus had at that time, that is in 435, still no intent to move against Theodore. In those days the opposition against the bishop of Mopsuestia was still concentrated around Rabbula of Edessa, Acacius of Melitene, and Cyril of Alexandria. Proclus was indeed no friend of the Antiocheans because of previous rivalry in regard to the highest office: in 428 Proclus had to yield to the Antiochean Nestorius for the patriarchal throne[200]. But everything we know about Proclus points to his prudence, his political acumen and considerable astuteness in ecclesial matters. Proclus will proceed against Theodore by stealth a few years later, carefully covering his tracks by using Ibas as the initial target[201], and thus he effectively hid his surreptititious move against the greatest and most revered theologian of the Antiochean School.

The Latin Text:

This version shows no marked deviation from the Greek text[202]. Yet a lengthy introduction was attached to the actual text of the Tome,

[199] The libellus has not been preserved; *cf. supra*, n. 126.

[200] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 18-19.

[201] *Cf. infra*, VII.

[202] With the exception of one interpolation; cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 200 (36: "est interpolatio Chalcedonica..."); VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", p. 428.

which places the Tome of Proclus in the context of the campaign against Theodore.

The Syriac Version :

I follow L. Van Rompay's excellent overview and analysis of the various Syriac translations[203]. The version S (in Bedjan, *Nestorius. Le livre d'Héraclide*)[204] renders the Greek text more faithfully than Σ (in Brooks, *Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae*)[205]; at the beginning Σ deviates completely from the Greek *Vorlage*[206] : no reference is made to the unorthodox tenets which are circulating in Persarmenia (*cf. supra*, Greek text, c)[207]. Likewise at the end the reference to the Armenian libellus (which after all was the reason why Proclus composed his Tome) is missing. Indeed, the entire section about the "corrupt people" who came to Armenia with their "evil writings and arguments of fallacious knowledge" (*cf. supra*, Greek text, d) is deliberately omitted[208].

Van Rompay is undoubtedly correct when he says at the end of his important contribution : "The omission of these historical indications in ... [Σ] suggests that the Tome was not seen to be directed against the propagation of Theodore's works[209]."

S (= *Cod. Brit. Libr. Add. 14.557*) has a significant, albeit misleading addition : the Tome is preceded by the libellus of the Armenian presbyters Leontius and Abelius[210]. Thus S insinuates that this libellus of Leontius and Abelius is the Armenian libellus to which Proclus refers in his Tome : "This we dispatched to your Belovedness, impelled by the libellus which you have sent to us ..." (*cf. supra*, Greek text, d). From the analysis of the entire relevant material of that period, I came to the conclusion that the libellus of Leontius and Abelius is not the libellus referred to by Proclus in his Tome. The libellus which Sahak had entrusted to Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn for Proclus, and to which the Patriarch of Constantinople refers in his Tome has been lost;

[203] Cf. Van Rompay, "Proclus", p. 428-433.

[204] Cf. Bedjan, *Nestorius*, p. 596-615; Schwartz, *ACO* iv/2, p. 186.

[205] Cf. Van Rompay, "Proclus", p. 429, 431-432; for the version Σ cf. n. 192 (1).

[206] Cf. Brooks, [*versio*] p. 88 : "noster textus cum his nihil commune habet".

[207] *Ibid.*; Schwartz, *ACO* iv/2, p. 187 (crit. app.), Van Rompay, "Proclus", p. 432.

[208] Cf. Brooks, [*versio*] p. 98-99; Schwartz, *ACO* iv/2, p. 195 (crit. app.); Van Rompay, "Proclus", p. 432.

[209] Van Rompay, "Proclus", p. 448.

[210] Cf. Bedjan, *Nestorius*, p. 594-596; Greek retrotranslation by Schwartz, *ACO* iv/2, p. xxvii-xxviii; Van Rompay, "Proclus", p. 432. For a survey on the libellus *cf. infra*, vi (2).

and the libellus of Leontius and Abelius does not precede the Tome as S wants us to believe, but follows it: this letter was composed in reaction to the Synod of Aštišat[211].

The matter is of considerable importance since the libellus of Leontius and Abelius presents itself as a petition to clarify whether Theodore's writings are orthodox or not. In reality, however, it is not a request for clarification, but a denunciation of Theodore's writings. Since S places this accusatory letter before the Tome of Proclus, it deliberately pulls the Tome into the context of the campaign against Theodore.

Comparing S with Σ, it is obvious that S, in contrast to Σ, intended to draw the Tome of Proclus into the orbit of the agitation against Theodore, by insinuating that the Tome allegedly is the response to the anti-Theodorean libellus of Leontius and Abelius, which is, as we shall see, a denunciation of Theodore with the intent to have Constantinople inaugurate formal procedures against the writings of the bishop of Mopsuestia.

The Armenian Version

It was noted already that the Armenian version has not been transmitted in its entirety[212], and that the text was broken up in various parts[213] and altered at the beginning with the insertion of a lengthy passage, which is reality stems from a letter of Eznik Kołbac'i to Mesrop Maštoc' while he was in Constantinople[214].

At the end of the Armenian version the text maintained the incipit of the Greek sentence: "This we have written to your Belovedness", but then dropped the entire reference to the libellus, which the Armenians had sent to Proclus: [Ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπεστείλαμεν ἀγάπην] ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων προτραπέντες λιβέλλων ὧν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διεπέμψασθε[215]. It could be argued that the reason for this omission was not to implicate Sahak and jeopardize the goals of the mission in Constantinople. Yet the more likely explanation is that the scribe, while copying the text, omitted the reference to the Armenian libellus

[211] *Cf. infra*, VI (2).

[212] Cf. n. 181; besides the *lacuna* at the beginning, there are also several gaps in the text itself; cf. TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 54 ("lacune de 25 lignes"), p. 55 ("lacune de 7 lignes"), p. 56 ("lacune de 4 lignes", [et] "d'une ligne et demie").

[213] Cf. n. 181.

[214] *Cf. supra*, text following n. 130, see also n. 181.

[215] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 195 (5-6); Armenian text: *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 7; VARDANEAN, "T'ułt' Prokłeay", col. 23-24 [401]; SARKISSIAN, p. 124.

since Sahak's letter to Proclus had been deliberately suppressed for doctrinal reasons. It is significant that all letters of Sahak have either been poorly transmitted[216], or they were reworked[217], or they vanished like the libellus which he had entrusted to Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn for the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Of singular importance is the deviation from the Greek text at the very end of the Tome. Here are the last few words of the Greek text: ... καὶ μὴ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων[218], followed by an extensive interpolation in the Armenian version[219]:

(a) that you may not perish in the curse and be lost with Nestorius and Theodore, who happened to be his teacher,
(b) and who made appear the evil weed and the ill-fated innovations which go far beyond the disavowal of the Jews,
(c) and [who are] like the previous heresy of the Arians, ... (= *t'eanc'n*)[220], and the Marcionites (? *Maret'oneac'*)[221] and the others who swerved from the glory of holiness and from the orthodox faith.
(d) They were cursed by all the people;
(e) and burnt were the books with the vile ideas, which were theirs, in the presence of the entire people.
(f) From now on, you as well, keep away from these creatures,
(g) and do the same what the holy synods of the bishops did.
(h) And may no one — reckoning [only] with the temporary disgrace as his personal disgrace — inherit the eternal disgrace,
(i) and being condemned with them, be pulled down into hell.

Then the last sentence of the Greek text follows: ἀλλὰ φυλάττοντες τὰς παραδόσεις[222] ...

Nestorius was anathematized in Ephesus in 431 to which the text alludes (a, g). Theodore's writings were not included in this condemnation, contrary to the assertions of the Armenian version (a, d, g, c).

[216] Cf. the letter which Sahak wrote in reply to Acacius' first letter; *cf. supra*, text following n. 117.

[217] Cf. the synodal letter, i.e. Sahak's alleged reply to the Tome of Proclus; *cf. infra*, (3).

[218] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 195 (14-15); INGLISIAN, "Beziehungen", p. 49.

[219] Cf. *Girk' T'ł'oc'*, p. 8; Armenian text also by VARDANEAN, "T'ułt' Prokłeay", col. 24 [418ff]; IDEM, "Briefwechsel", p. 422-424 (= Armenian text with German translation); German also in INGLISIAN, "Beziehungen", p. 49; English in SARKISSIAN, p. 124; French in TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 77.

[220] The text is corrupt: *t'eanc'n* seems to be an incomplete word; VARDANEAN, "Tułt Prokłeay", col. 24 (crit. app. 424).

[221] Probably also corrupt.

[222] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. 195 (15); INGLISIAN, "Beziehungen", p. 49.

The "tyrant of Edessa", Rabbula, indeed had burnt the works of Theodore in 432, possibly alluded to in the Armenian text (c). Yet Theodore was held in high esteem by the majority of the bishops of the Christian East in those years. It is more than likely that Persarmenia's christology was influenced by Theodore. The mission in Edessa and the Syrian patriarchs, whom the Armenians themselves had requested from the Persians, point in this direction.

Proclus wrote his Tome in 435, and the document formed part of the Synod of Aštišat in 435 or 436. This synod accepted the decisions of Ephesus including the repudiation of Nestorius. Theodore is not at all mentioned. Likewise we have to insist that Proclus never formally denounced Theodore by name or his writings. Prudence and shrewdness made Proclus move surreptitiously against Theodore by accusing Ibas in 438. The Patriarch of Constantinople saw to it that those excerpts he intended to have rejected in 438 were circulating without being openly attributed to Theodore[223]. This Armenian text of the Tome is much too crude and blunt to be possibly attributed to the circumspect Patriarch of the imperial City. Moreover, Theodore was at that time still too significant to be removed from his position of being held in highest esteem. Those who were bold enough to undermine the hold which Theodore had on the Antiocheans had to retract their accusations as we shall see.

We have to conclude with some degree of certainty that the insinuations against Theodore, with which the Tome became surrounded, are subsequent additions and interpolations. The Tome was directed against those diphysite tenets which had been rejected at the Council of Ephesus. Theodore's writings did not form any part of it. In the various versions of the Tome of Proclus we can observe the different measures which were taken to draw the Tome into the campaign against Theodore in order to discredit the bishop of Mopsuestia as much as possible. The Armenian version altered the text itself by interpolating a passage against Theodore. The Latin text and the Syriac version (S) added either an introduction (so the Latin text) or an entire letter (so S), both of which expressed their opposition to Theodore[224].

[223] *Cf. infra*, VII.
[224] Cf. VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", p. 436.

(3) *The Reply and the Profession of Faith*

Sahak had sent Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn to Constantinople in 434 or 435 to inquire about the dissemination of diphysite tenets in the entire Christian East. The delegation came back to Persarmenia with the canons of Ephesus and the Tome of Proclus. This in turn led to the Synod of Aštišat in 435 or 436. It has been noted that the Tome in its Armenian version has not been preserved very well. Something similar has to be said about the correspondence of Sahak with Proclus. We do not know what shape the libellus had which Sahak entrusted to Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn in connection with the delicate mission in Constantinople. The letter is lost. We had to reconstruct its probable content on the basis of Proclus' reply and the prior events which had led the Armenian emissaries to Constantinople.

The alleged reply to the Tome by Sahak and Maštoc' has come down to us in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, parts of which have also been preserved in the *Knik' Hawatoy*[225]. The following reflections arise:

(1) If this letter has official character, being the synodal letter, then the main authors were very likely not Sahak and Maštoc', but the Syrian Patriarch Š(a)muēl.

(2) Sahak and Maštoc' could have written a personal reply[226].

(3) Both headings, in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* and in the *Knik' Hawatoy*, claim that the letter is the reply to Proclus' Tome. But why does Sahak's letter never really interact with the content of the Tome? And why does this alleged response to the Tome never refer to the decisions of the Synod of Aštišat? All that is said is that the letters[227] from

[225] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 9-13 (Creed: p. 10-11); *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 129; Armenian text with German translation by VARDANIAN, "Briefwechsel", p. 425-435 (*textus*), p. 435-441 (*versio*); French by TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 72-77. In the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* (p. 9) the letter has the following title: "Response to the letter of the blessed Proclus by Sahak and by Maštoc' (*Maždoc'ē*), the holy *teachers* (*vardapetac'n*) of the Armenians" which VARDANIAN ("Briefwechsel", p. 425 [*textus*], p. 435 [*versio*]) changed into: "... the holy *patriarchs* (*hayrapetac'n*) ..." RICHARD ("Acace", p. 407 [n. 4]), not knowing of the original, promptly asked: "Mais peut-on faire confiance à ce titre qui qualifie les deux hommes de "patriarches des Arméniens"?" In the *Knik' Hawatoy* (p. 129) the heading runs as follows: "From the letter of the holy Sahak, Catholicos of the Armenians and the holy teacher Mesrop, which [is] the reply to the blessed Proclus".

[226] The letter was then written in the capacity as "teachers" as indicated in the title preserved in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* (p. 9), cf. previous note.

[227] Does the plural imply that there were several letters, or does this indication refer to the Tome and an accompanying letter (which has been lost)?

Constantinople were heard and publically read[228]. It is conceivable that this is an allusion to the Synod of Aštišat. Yet nothing is said about the outcome of this important synod. This omission is significant; after all it was at Aštišat that the diphysite teachings of Nestorius were rejected. The reply as it has come down to us is beset with difficulties. There are features which require carefull discussion:

a. Major sections are nothing but duplicates of Sahak's letter to Acacius, which probably was written about 434. A comparison may best illucidate my point.

	letter to Acacius (pp. 16-18)[229]	*letter to Proclus* (pp. 9-13)
(1) Opening sentence	p. 16 verbatim agreement with p. 9	
major part of the introductory paragraph	p. 16 verbatim agreement or considerable similarity with p. 9	
(2) Creed[230]	*deest*	pp. 10-11
paragraph ("But I am amazed ...")	p. 17 verbatim agreement with p. 11	
	p. 17: "... as to name two Sons or two Lords in Christ"	"they contrive two Sons and two temples[231]..."
followed by explanations which have credal character	p. 17: short version	pp. 11-12: longer version
(3) Short paragraph concerning those who deviated from the right faith	p. 17 similar or verbatim agreement with p. 12	
assurance that these people will not be tolerated	p. 17 similar to p. 12	

[228] Cf. *Girk' T'ł'oc'*, p. 9; French by TALLON, *Livre des lettres*, p. 73; German by VARDANIAN, "Briefwechsel", p. 435.

[229] The page indications refer to the *Girk' T'ł'oc'*.

[230] The Creed in this letter to Proclus is also preserved in the *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 129; for a study see my forthcoming investigation *Armenische Symbolstudien*.

[231] INGLISIAN ("Chalkedon", p. 393 [n. 9]) assumed that the reference to the "two temples" is an erroneous reading, which required correction. This is unnecessary since the concept of "the temple" (being the body of the Verb) was commonly used among diphysite teachers. Nestorius, for example, says in his sermon, preached in 430: "I did not say that the Son was one [person] and God the Word another; I said that God the Word was by nature one and the *temple* by nature another ..." (emphasis mine), quoted in GRILLMEIER, *Christ*, p. 455; see in addition DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 113-114.

(4) exhortation to make use of the advantage of having "supreme authority" to proceed against the heretics	p. 17 verbatim agreement with p. 12	
reference to the fact that the Greeks have emperors who are concerned about orthodoxy[232]	pp. 17-18 considerable similarity with pp. 12-13	
(5) final paragraph	p. 18 very similar to p. 13	
	p. 18: "But concerning the false doctrine, which you wrote us to abhor, to the present time, by the grace of God, nothing of the like has reached [us]."	p. 13: "and those who might be following *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, to the present time, by the grace of God, nothing of the like has appeared here."
assurance of not tolerating the heretics should they be found	p. 18 very similar with p. 13	
(6) short petition for prayer	p. 18 *deest*	p. 13

These are not minor agreements, but extensive duplications. Many passages of the letter to bishop Acacius are taken over verbatim in the letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople. It seems highly unlikely that a man of Sahak's upbringing, a man who was one of the foremost leaders of the country and endowed with considerable acumen — that such a prominent figure would pull out a letter he had sent to a querulant bishop some years before; copy major parts of it, while adding virtually nothing new to it besides a Creed, and dispatch such a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople at a time when the political and ecclesial circumstances required the utmost attention and care. We have to rule out this possibility as unbefitting for a man of Sahak's stature, and explain the similarities and the extensive verbatim agreements in the two letters in a different and more plausible manner[233], namely as a forgery.

[232] Here a contrast is implied: the Armenians are ruled by the Persian King who is not a Christian, but a Zoroastrian.

[233] SARKISSIAN (p. 125-127, 138) and TALLON (*Livre des lettres*, p. 72) do not discuss the problems which result from these verbatim agreements; Inglisian ("Bezie-

There were already scholars who suspected Sahak's letter to Proclus to be a falsification[234]. But perhaps we need not go as far as to dismiss the letter altogether. Indeed, there are reasons to maintain some parts as authentic, in particular the sections which are absent in the letter to Acacius. The only significant deviation from the letter to Acacius is the Creed, which we have to discuss at some length. It can be assumed that it was not issued by Sahak or Maštoc', but that it is an essential fragment of the official synodal letter of the Synod of Aštišat, headed by the Syrian Patriarch Š(a)muēl.

b. The Creed contained in the letter to Proclus, which is preserved in the *Girk' T'ł'oc'*, is the only part which is also transmitted in the *Knik' Hawatoy* under the name of Sahak and Maštoc'[235]. One might argue that it is not surprising to find just the Creed included in a *florilegium* which deals exclusively with doctrinal issues, such as the *Knik' Hawatoy*, and to see other parts of the letter omitted. Yet it is a fact that the subsequent extensive doctrinal explanations in the letter to Proclus (*cf. supra*, 2), which refer back to the Creed, were not taken over in the *Knik' Hawatoy*. This is conceivably an indication that just the *Symbolum* is authentic, forming the very kernel of the original letter. Consequently, however, another problem arises: why is there a *professio fidei* at all? It is of utmost importance to realize that the presentation of a profession of faith in such a context had always at that time defensive connotations. Once a major ecclesial centre accused a community or an individual of questionable doctrines, then very often a profession of faith was produced in defense of the right belief. At that period it was frequently a variation of the Nicene Creed. This sort of defensive stratagem was used, for example, by John of Antioch on several occasions in his synodal letters to Proclus: the first time in 436[236] in connection with the mission of Aristolaus, who had been sent to Antioch by Proclus to request the condemnations of Nestorius once more. Cyril of Alexandria had at that juncture of events attempted in vain to expand the repudiation of Nestorius to the Antiochean christology in general[237]. John of Antioch convoked a synod in 437[238],

hungen", p. 38-39) points to the problem without attempting to solve it. These authors take it for granted that Sahak wrote this letter to Proclus.

[234] E.g. Adonc', *Maštoc'*, p. 26 ff.

[235] Cf. *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 129; *cf. supra*, n. 225, 230.

[236] For the date cf. Abramowski, "Streit", p. 253.

[237] Cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 21-22; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 253.

[238] For the date cf. Abramowski, "Streit", p. 253, 267, 271.

and in his synodal letter to Proclus he dryly indicated that the Nicene Symbolum [239] should suffice as credal statement and that the repetition of the condemnation of Nestorius ought to be superfluous [240].

The second time when John of Antioch insisted on the Nicene Creed occured at the Synod of Antioch in 438. Proclus of Constantinople had sent his *Tomus ad Armenios* (with some additional *capitula*) to Antioch and expected the bishops to sign his Tome [241]. In the synodal letter the Antiocheans referred once more to the Nicene Creed, and they insisted that they would reject any alterations of the Creed of Nicea, as they also repudiated those who introduced "two Sons [242]."

In the Armenian letter the diphysite teachings are also rejected, namely those who "contrive two Sons and two temples", and the Nicene Creed was dispatched to Proclus [243]. Especially noteworthy is the contrasting statement with which the profession of faith begins: "*Ayl mek' hawatamk' i mi Astuac* [244] ..." The contrast (*ayl*) and the emphasis (*mek'*) cannot be overlooked. Hence the incipit of the Creed should be rendered with: "We, however, we believe in one God ..."

The presence of the Creed in the Armenian letter to Proclus with its defensive incipit has to be interpreted in the light of the evidence from Antioch of that period. As John of Antioch defended Antiochean christology on the basis of the Nicene Creed at the Synod of 437 in connection with the mission of Aristolaus, and again at the Synod of 438 because of Proclus' demands, so likewise was the Nicene Creed forwarded to Proclus by the Armenian Synod of Aštišat in 435 or 436. The Armenian letter which contained the Creed with its defensive connotations obviously must have had a different shape than the pious, but doctrinally irrelevant letter which has come down to us

[239] The Creed is quoted; cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* I/4, p. 209.

[240] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 22; for the synodal letter to Proclus cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* I/4, p. 208-210 (nr. 287); see also RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 307 (n. 6); LEBON, "Symboles", p. 846-847, 851.

[241] *Cf. infra*, VII.

[242] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 29; for some fragments of the letter cf. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* I/4, p. 208 (nr. 286); further references in ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 274-275.

[243] The *Symbolum* (cf. *Girk' T'lt'oc'*, p. 10-11; *Knik' Hawatoy*, p. 129) is a variation of the Nicene Creed to which an explanation of the Nicene faith is added, namely the *Ekthesis* which became attributed to Basil, Athanasius, and in the Armenian tradition to Evagrius; cf. LEBON, "Symboles", p. 849-850. For a study of the Creed see my forthcoming *Armenische Symbolstudien*.

[244] Cf. n. 230.

under the name of Sahak and Maštoc'. The Creed probably is the remnant of the official synodal letter issued at Aštišat. It also can be assumed that the Syrian Patriarch Š(a)muēl had decisively shaped this letter to Proclus. Only now is it possible to properly understand the next events. Only after the Armenians had issued the Creed in 435/436 to shield their christology, and in turn the Antiocheans in 437, did Cyril of Alexandria consider it necessary to compose his *explanation* of the Creed in 438 in order to prevent those who adhered to the doctrinal tenets of Antioch from interpreting the Symbolum in their own way[245]. Also the interference of Acacius of Melitene fits in this context. Around 436[246] he wrote a letter to the Armenian princes, instead of to the hierarchy, since the clergy who followed Antiochean tenets had had the upper hand at the Synod of Aštišat. Likewise, the libellus of Leontius and Abelius with its denunciation of Theodore has to be inserted at this juncture of events. The libellus is a reaction to the results of the Synod of Aštišat.

If we postulate Antiochean leanings at the Synod of Aštišat, which repudiated Nestorius by accepting the decisions of Ephesus, while holding on to Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus, and to similar Antiochean theologians, then the fact of the poor textual transmission of the events at Aštišat is quite understandable. The Synod of Aštišat, which had sent off the Creed with the intent to shield its christology, implicated the Persarmenian Church in the struggle for overcoming diphysite doctrine. Thus it was better to ignore this assembly of the bishops that had directly or indirectly defended the diphysite christological tenets of Antioch, which the Armenians had absorbed through their connections with Edessa. The reason why Movsēs Xorenac'i, Łazar P'arpec'i, and Koriwn kept quiet about the events of Aštišat — despite the fact that their accounts of that period *required* a report about this synod — find a plausible explanation only if we postulate doctrinal discrepancies between the christology espoused at Aštišat and the opinion of Armenian historiographers (or the scribes who copied their stories).

The presence of the Creed in the synodal letter of Aštišat to the Patriarch of Constantinople betrays the true nature of the synodal

[245] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 32; *cf. infra*, text following n. 328.

[246] Cf. RICHARD ("Proclus", p. 411) is correct: "Ajoutons que la lettre d'Acace ne peut guère avoir été écrite avant 436 ou 437"; *pace* SARKISSIAN, p. 137 (n. 3).

reponse to Proclus: it was originally a defensive communication and closely intertwined with the Tome of Proclus in its formulation. Subsequently this letter was apparently tampered with. The Creed was retained, the statements around the profession of faith, however, were substituted by pious and inconsequential phrases.

The Persarmenian Church underwent considerable upheaval during those years. Its leadership experienced grave instability from 428 until 444 as it oscilated between pro-Syrian and direct Syrian intervention, which was accompanied by growing anti-Syrian sentiments and agitation against the pro-Persian course. Thus it was tantamount to the Armenians, in particular to Sahak and his following, to pay attention to the doctrinal statements which originated in Constantinople, to counterbalance the overwhelming pro-Syrian orientation of the Armenian Church. Sahak, who seems to have been a man of extraordinary vision, succeeded intially: the arrival of the Tome of Proclus is the result of Sahak's astuteness and foresight. However, the subsequent events show the pendulum swinging once more in the opposite direction; the pro-Syrian party prevailed in Aštišat over the faction behind Sahak.

If Sahak has indeed sent some reply to Proclus, then it does look different from the letter which has been preserved. The transmitted letter espouses flowery, but boneless piety, and it is doctrinally irrelevant — if we prescind from the profession of faith. The flowery character of the letter, its lack of doctrinal acumen, combined with the overall irrelevance in regard to the grave issues which awaited some resolution, suggests that we are dealing with a document which is none other than a pious fraud. This inconsequential piety was used as an unsophisticated camouflage for the extensive and substantial alterations of the original text of the letter[247]. Sahak the Great, who is

[247] *pace* VARDANIAN, "Briefwechsel", p. 418: "Die Resultate der Beschlüsse ... tat nun Sahak in einem herrlichen [!] Dankschreiben an Proklus ... kund; die Echtheit des Schreibens kann im vorhinein bereits als gesichert vorausgesetzt werden [!] ..."; INGLISIAN, "Beziehungen", p. 38, 43; *et. al.* We have to assume that letters are written with a certain purpose in mind. The frequently presented argument that the flowery piety of the letter was used as a stratagem to obscure its true meaning does not provide a persuasive option to solve the inherent difficulties of the document. Besides, we have to give more credit to Sahak's acumen and intellectual vigour than some of the authors were willing to concede to him. From the historical fragments about Sahak, which have come down to us, we can infer the intellectual stature and political significance of this man. It is difficult to believe that Sahak lagged so much behind the political perspicacity of his contemporaries, Proclus, John of Antioch, and Cyril

engrained in the memory of the Armenians as one of their most significant leaders, can hardly be the author of this document.

VI. The reaction

The position which Aštišat had taken was by no means shared unanimously by the Armenian clergy. Moreover, the reaction to the diphysite leanings of Persarmenia at that time was not restricted to some groups among the Armenians, but included also Melitene. Both, the evidence of the resistance among some Armenian clergy and the renewed correspondence from Melitene have to be dated between 436 and 437. It is difficult to decide, however, whether the letter from Melitene to the *naxarark'* preceded the Armenian libellus of Leontius and Abelius to Proclus or whether it succeded it. Both possibilities can be persuasively argued. Since it is easier to follow the events if the libellus of Leontius and Abelius is tied to the subsequent actions of Ibas in Edessa, we shall first investigate the correspondence of Acacius of Melitene[248].

(1) *The Second Interference from Melitene: Acacius' Letter to the Naxarark'*

Around 436[249] Acacius felt impelled to write once more to the Armenians[250]. The news about the reaffirmation of Antiochean christology in Persarmenia had reached him as he caustically affirms at the very opening of his letter : followers of Nestorius (*Nestori*) and Theodore (*T'ēodori*) of Mopsuestia have disseminated their diphysite doctrine in Persarmenia[251]. Something had to be done. Acacius appealed to those among the Armenians who seemingly did not appreciate these Antiochean leanings: a group of *naxarark'* had packed away the writings of Diodore of Tarsus, the teacher of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

of Alexandria. It is tangibly present in the fragmented accounts about him, and the Persians were acutely aware of his astuteness; that is why they removed him from office and replaced him with Surmak.

[248] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 19-21; Latin translation by B. Mercier in Richard, "Acace", p. 398-400; French by Tallon, *Livre des lettres*, p. 39-44. No response to Acacius' letter to the *naxarark'* has survived.

[249] Cf. n. 246.

[250] *Cf. supra*, III.

[251] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 19; Tallon, *Livre des lettres*, p. 39.

It was to these *naxarark'*, who were outnumbered by the followers of diphysite christology, that Acacius addressed his urgent letter[252]:

(a) We plead [with you] that no one deceive you,
(b) neither the preeminence of persons nor [their] great number ...
(c) I have been constrained to write to your Belovedness,
(d) for when our beloved presbyters Hona(y), K'ota(y), and Anjna(y)[253] came to us
(e) we were told about the good works which you have accomplished:
(f) that you have tied up [and] sealed the writings of Diodore (*Diodori*).
(g) That no one then persuades you to give [them] again to those who had readily and willingly aquired them ...
(h) For if Nestorius (*Nestorios*) has vanished from all churches,
(i) how can Diodore (*Diodorn*), [his] writing and [his] teaching[254] be acceptable,
(j) which have the same meaning and pernicious power (*vnasakarut'iwn*) ...
(k) Watch out for such people! And consider [them] as those who were anathematized!
(l) And do not accept their deceitful tidings (*hambaws*),
(m) which they brought to you from the regions of the East.

With the last admonition (l-m), Acacius may have had Š(a)muēl and the Syrian prelates in mind. The Syrian leadership in the Persarmenian Church was perhaps as influential in the propagation of Antiochean christology as were the Armenians who had come to Edessa for their studies or translation of Syriac writings prior to 432. The eminent position of some of these people is pointedly referred to (b), as it is also clear that they were in the majority (b). That the letter was not addressed to any known Armenian prelate, but to some *naxarark'* shows that the pro-Antiochean orientation must have had prevalence among the Armenian clergy.

One last question has to be addressed. The Armenian text refers twice to Diodore (*Diodor*) [of Tarsus], twice to Theodore (*T'eodor*) [of Mopsuestia][255]. Several scholars unified the reading by replacing

[252] The heading of the letter runs as follows: "Letter from bishop Acacius to the Armenians. To the honourable and virtuous *naxarark'* of the Armenians, the beloved ... servants of Christ ..."; cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 19. According to Innocentius (in *ACO* IV/2, p. 68) and Liberatus X (in *ACO* II/5, p. 110) both, Accacius and Rabbula, wrote to the Armenians (*cf. supra*, n. 139). No letter of Rabbula has been preserved.

[253] The origins of these priests is unknown; good discussion in SARKISSIAN, p. 231.

[254] I substitute *xunn* with *usumn*; see also Acacius' first letter, *cf. supra*, n. 110.

[255] Cf. *Girk' T'łt'oc'*, p. 19, 20 (*T'ēodor*), p. 21 (twice *Diodor*); Nestorius is mentioned four times (p. 19, 20 [twice], 21).

either *T'ēodor* with Diodore (e.g. Tallon, pp. 39, 41), or *Diodor* with Theodore (e.g. Sarkissian, pp. 118, 229). I do not believe that such alterations are necessary[256]. From 432 onward the agitation in Edessa and Melitene was indeed concentrated on Theodore of Mopsuestia, but later on Diodore of Tarsus became included in the campaign against Antiochean christology as the erudite Richard has pointed out in his contribution[257]. About 438 Cyril of Alexandria composed his famous *Adversus Diodorum et Theodorum*[258]. Nothing prevents us then from retaining the reference to Diodore (of Tarsus) in the Armenian letter of Acacius, provided that we place the document in the years between 436 and 438. Indeed, this letter with its rampant agitation against Antiochean theologians such as Theodore and Diodore fits best into the period after the decisions of the Armenian Synod in Aštišat in 435/436. Acacius of Melitene may have become aware of the synodal letter to Proclus, in which the Persarmenian Church headed by the Syrian Patriarch Š(a)muēl had defended its Antiochean christology and insisted on the validity of its creed. It was noted already that it was common practice to circumvent the ever increasing demands for concessions from Constantinople and elsewhere by holding on to the Creed of Nicea.

On the one hand the letter of Acacius to the *naxarark'* shows indirectly which christological tenets had preeminence at that time among the Persarmenian clergy; on the other hand it also demonstrates the existence of pockets of resistance against the pro-Antiochean orientation in the Church of Persarmenia. Not only some Armenian princes considered it better to remove the writings of Diodore, but also some groups among the Armenian clergy had little sympathy for Antiochean christology.

(2) *The Libellus of Leontius and Abelius*

The cautious inquiries of Sahak and the outcome of the Synod of Aštišat, which had distanced itself only from Nestorius without pronouncing itself on other Antiochean theologians, may have led to a

[256] I agree with RICHARD, "Acace", p. 398 (n. 2): "On pourrait hésiter entre *Theodori* et *Diodori* ... Mais la suite du texte ne permet pas guère de douter qu'il s'agit bien de l'évêque de Tarse".

[257] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

[258] *Cf. infra*, text prior to n. 328.

more organized form of campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia. The rift among the Armenians between those who were followers of the School of Antioch and those who were opposed to Antiochean christology emerges very clearly in the libellus, which was sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople with the intent to have Proclus inaugurate formal procedures against Theodore.

The libellus has survived only in a Syriac translation[259]. The evidence in the libellus is in some aspects supported by Innocentius Maroniae and Liberatus[260]. It has been mentioned already that Innocentius and Liberatus (who follows Innocentius) are not reliable witnesses in regard to the sequence of events and the reasons which they offer for certain developments in and outside of Armenia[261]. For example, Innocentius, who was an opponent of Theodore, wanted us to believe that the Armenian synod took place because of the allegedly dubious theological tenets of Theodore, and that the synod preceded the Tome of Proclus. Yet both of these claims cannot be reconciled with historical facts. Innocentius also reports that it was the Armenian synod that dispatched Leontius and Abelius to Proclus. Again this is not corroborated by any other evidence. The libellus of Leontius and Abelius has to be placed after the arrival of the Tome of Proclus and the Synod of Aštišat in 435/436. It is conceivable that this libellus is a reaction to the decisions of the synod.

Given the fact that the credibility of Innocentius (and Liberatus) has to be called into question, I shall use both only as auxiliary evidence in connection with the libellus of Leontius and Abelius. We have to rule out the possibility of dismissing the libellus as fictitious. Too many fragments are coalescing, and too many hints and allusions are agreeing with each other to allow the rejection of this document.

Like Devreesse and Sarkissian I shall also quote the libellus in its French translation by Dib[262], but I divide the text into various sections for my particular purpose of discussion.

[259] Cf. BEDJAN, *Nestorius*, p. 594-596; Greek retrotranslation by SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. XXVII.

[260] Cf. *Innocentius* in *ACO* IV/2, p. 68; *Liberatus* X in *ACO* II/5, p. 110-111 (for the text *cf. supra*, n. 139); for both cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 36-53.

[261] The veracity of the accounts of Innocentius and Liberatus have been questioned by RICHARD, "Acace", p. 409 (1); IDEM, "Proclus", p. 309-310 (n. 4); ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 254; *cf. supra*, n. 136-138.

[262] Cf. DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 136-137; IDEM, «Début», p. 550-551; SARKISSIAN, p. 131-132; Greek retrotranslation by SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, p. XXVII; German in INGLISIAN, "Beziehungen", p. 36-37.

(1) Copie de la lettre des évêques et des prêtres de la Grande Arménie à Proclus, évêque fidèle de Constantinople, au sujet des écrits de Théodore de Mopsueste.

(2) Léonce et Abel, prêtres de la Grande Arménie, et les frères qui sont avec nous, au saint et aimé de Dieu évêque de l'Église catholique et apostolique, Proclus.

(3) Nous croyons, ô Révérend, selon la tradition de nos pères, les évêques de la ville de Nicée, et nous confessons la vraie foi orthodoxe.

(4) Des hommes habitant en Orient sont venus chez nous. Ils voulaient nous troubler comme on trouble des gens simples, ayant apporté avec eux un écrit de Théodore, évêque de Mopsueste.
Ce Théodore, en effet, ainsi que nous le savons par les écrits du saint Mar Rabboula, évêque d'Édesse, et de Mar Acace de Mélitène, qui l'ont bien montré, est un homme pervers et un perturbateur de la foi qui est imperturbable.

(5) Des hommes sont venus de Cilicie à nous et ont attaqué Acace, le saint évêque de Mélitène, et le religieux Rabboula, évêque d'Édesse, disant que ces derniers ont rejeté par inimitié et par haine les écrits de Théodore.

(6) Aussi, à cause de ta piété, les saints évêques ont-ils jugé à propos de nous envoyer ici pour apprendre exactement de toi si ces livres et leurs auteurs sont vraiment pervers.
Nous te demandons donc de nous préparer des écrits pour que nous sachions, nos mandants et nous, si nous devons faire confiance à ceux qui sont venus de Cilicie avec les livres de Théodore ou nous en tenir à l'écrit des saints évêques Rabboula et Acace.

(7) En outre, nous avons un ouvrage de Théodore.

(8) Nous te prions de voir si ce qui y est écrit est juste, afin que, en considération de l'examen de ta sainteté, les hommes, les femmes et les enfants de la Grande Arménie et tout le peuple de la Sainte Église s'attachent à la foi qui avait été prêchée d'une manière complète et ferme aux Romains,

(9) et que, avec eux, la grâce de Dieu aidant, les personnes venues de Cilicie pour nous induire en erreur trouvent leur voie dans le libelle de ta foi, se convertissent et adhèrent à la doctrine des Apôtres, affirmée par les 318 Pères.
Quant à nous, nous confessons cette foi telle qu'elle est, d'un même cœur et d'une même âme. Nous sommes liés par toutes les artères les uns aux autres comme de vrais frères et à l'instar des membres qui composent le corps.

(10) Nous n'avons pas été troublés. Mais nos adversaires trament des complots.

(11) Soyons unis, puisque nous confessons un seul Seigneur, une seule foi, vraie et bien affermie dans nos âmes. Nous conserverons le souvenir de ta piété.

1. The Ambiguity in Connection with the Senders of the Libellus

The first and foremost question concerns the senders. The initial scenario is ambiguous for the libellus appears to be an official dispatch on the one hand (1): "... *la lettre des évêques et des prêtres de la Grande Arménie à Proclus ...*", while it implies subsequently that the letter was written by two presbyters (2): "*Leonce et Abel, prêtres de la Grande Arménie, et les frères qui sont avec nous, au saint et aimé de Dieu évêque ..., Proclus.*"

Is this libellus an official document[263], or is it the private undertaking of Leontius and Abelius who were disloyal to their own bishops, by proceeding behind their backs to denounce Theodore and implicitly their church officials[264]?

With regard to the first question, the official status of the libellus, it is highly unlikely that the Armenian episcopacy stood behind this libellus. They had, on the contrary, affirmed the Antiochean christology at Aštišat, and they had communicated their decisions to Proclus in a synodal letter of which only the Creed has been preserved. The reference to the Armenian bishops (1) has to be interpreted as a later interpolation in order to endow the document with greater authority.

On the other hand, Sarkissian is probably correct in his assumption that the endeavours of Leontius and Abelius were not "a purely private or personal enterprise." I also agree with Sarkissian that the two presbyters "were representing an important and influential section of the Armenian clergy[265]." They represent in all likelihood the Anti-Theodorean faction of the Armenian clergy who opposed the decisions of the Synod of Aštišat, which had only distanced itself from Nestorius while defending their own diphysite leanings in christology. This group may have decided to contact Proclus in order to have Constantinople take an official and more outspoken stance than that of the Tome.

We should not forget the volatile and tenuous situation of the Persarmenian Church at that time. A Syrian and pro-Persian Patriarch was the official leader of the Church; Sahak had been expelled from office not long before because of his sympathies with the Greeks, and,

[263] This is generally assumed or implied, cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 25; DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 135; IDEM, "Début", p. 552; PEETERS, "Origines", p. 215; IDEM, "Rabboula", p. 161; GRILLMEIER, *Christ*, p. 522; cf. critique by ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 265-266.

[264] Cf. RICHARD, "Acace", p. 407-410; INGLISIAN, "Beziehungen", p. 43-45.

[265] SARKISSIAN, p. 142.

as we have seen, after his return from exile he had very limited authority. It has also been noted how fragmented the Armenians were in regard to their political and ecclesial orientation. We have to assume at least two opposite parties : the pro-Syrian and pro-Antiochean wing which had the majority and which was clearly supported by the political leadership in Persia and Persarmenia, and the anti-Iranian and anti-Antiochean faction with its pro-Byzantine leanings. Sahak and his following may have formed a third less radicalized party. The entourage of Sahak, as Sahak himself, were for political reasons unable to openly support the anti-Persian group, but they may have sympathized to some extent with this party.

The fact that Sahak's name is not mentioned in the libellus may have several reasons : either Sahak's position carried no authority outside of his diocese, which was Aštišat, or his name was not attached to the libellus in order to protect him and not to jeopardize the country, which, given the destiny of Sahak's father and his own precarious situation, may have been under consideration. But it is also conceivable that Sahak took a more moderate position and thus did not stand behind this group who decided to send Leontius and Abelius to Constantinople, although he may have sympathized with them.

The libellus mirrors the anti-Theodorean and anti-Syrian stance of an important part of the Armenian clergy, led by Leontius and Abelius.

2. *The Identity of the two Armenian Priests*

The Armenian presbyters, L'nṭyws and Hbyl as they are called in the Syriac libellus[266], have to be identified with Leontius and Abelius in the report of Innocentius Maroniae and Liberatus[267]. The L'nṭyws referred to in the Syriac letter and the Leontius in Innocentius and Liberatus is the same as the Łewond (= Łewondēos) who was with the group of disciples of Maštoc' in Melitene during the second mission between 423 and 425[268], and the Łewondēs (= Łewond) who was

[266] Cf. Bedian, *Nestorius*, p. 594.

[267] Cf. *Innocentius* in *ACO* iv/2, p. 68; *Liberatus* x, p. 111 (for the text *cf. supra*, n. 139). Both contend that it was an anti-Theodorean synod which had sent Leontius and Abelius to Proclus. This is hardly possible, and the credibility of Innocentius and Liberatus has to be questioned; *cf. supra*, n. 136-138, 261.

[268] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 57; Abelean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 334 : "Łewond"; Abelean, *Koriwn*, p. 80 : "Łewondēos"; *cf. supra*, i (2); Inglisian, "Beziehungen", p. 44-45; Sarkissian, p. 141, see also p. 102-103.

sent to Constantinople by Sahak prior to the Synod of Aštišat[269]. Leontius (L'nṭyws, Łewond, Łewondēs, Łewondēos), who carried now once again a letter to Proclus (— this time, however, in an unofficial capacity —) is probably also the Łewond who played such an important role in the subsequent revolt of the Armenians against the Persians, who then murdered him in 454 as Ełišē and Łazar P'arpec'i report[270].

Who this Hbyl (Abelius) is poses some problems. I do not believe that Abelius is to be identified with the Koriwn[271] who went with Łewond(ēs) to Constantinople before the Synod of Aštišat. It has been suggested that Abelius derives from աբեղայ (*abeła[y]*, "monk")[272]. Did the Syriac translator — and that is our point of depature — who gave the form Hbyl (Habel, Abel), misunderstand the Armenian word for "monk" (*abeła[y]*)? I would doubt that, and would rather be inclined to take Hbyl as a name which would be rendered in its Armenian form as Habēl.

3. The Denunciatory Character of the Libellus and Other Issues

The libellus pretends to seek from Proclus some clarification about doctrinal matters (*cf. supra*, 6, see also 8):

> ... à cause de ta piété, les saints évêques ont-ils jugé à propos de nous envoyer ici pour apprendre exactement de toi si les livres et leurs auteurs sont vraiment pervers.
>
> Nous te demandons donc de nous préparer des écrits pour que nous sachions, nos mandants et nous, si nous devons faire confiance à ceux qui sont venus de Cilicie avec les livres de Théodore ou nous en tenir à l'écrit des saints évêques Rabboula et Acace[273].

[269] Cf. Abełean, *Koriwn*, p. 86: "Łewondēs"; Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 60; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 341: "Łewond"; *cf. supra*, iv.

[270] Cf. crit. ed. by Tēr-Minasean, *Ełišē*, p. 58, 100, 106, 114, 123-124, 130, 134, 148, 162, 171, 178, 179; Tēr-Mkrtč'ean - Malxasean, p. 45, 58, 70-71, 75-79, 81-82, 85-86, 91, 97, 99-101; Grousset, *Histoire*, p. 211-213; Inglisian, "Beziehungen", p. 44.

[271] Cf. Adonc', *Maštoc'*, p. 36ff; Akinean, "Mecn Sahak", col. 487-488 (= *S. Maštoc' vardapet*, p. 65-66); idem, "Patmut'iwn", p. 175, 311 [n. 74], 313 [n. 77] (= *Koriwn*, p. 103-104 [n. 74]); Vardanian, "Briefwechsel", p. 417. I agree with: Sarkissian, p. 140 (n. 3); Inglisian, "Beziehungen", p. 36-37; Peeters, "Origines", p. 215.

[272] Referred to, for example, in Peeters, "Origines", p. 215.

[273] Cf. *Innocentius* in *ACO* iv/2, p. 68; *Liberatus* x in *ACO* ii/5, p. 111 (for the text *cf. supra*, n. 139).

In reality the libellus does not request clarification, but an official repudiation from Constantinople of Theodore's writings[274]. In the letter of Leontius and Abelius it is already decided who is to be accused (*cf. supra*, 4b):

> ... Ce Théodore, en effet, ainsi que nous le savons par les écrits du saint Mar Rabboula, évêque d'Édesse, et par Mar Acace de Mélitène, qui l'ont bien montré, est un homme pervers et un perturbateur de la foi[275] ...

and who needs reorientation, and from where leadership is expected in this matter (*cf. supra*, 8):

> Nous te prions de voir si ce qui y est écrit est juste, afin que ... les enfants de la Grande Arménie et tout le peuple de la Sainte Église s'attachent à la foi qui avait été prêchée d'une manière complète et ferme aux Romains ...

and who has to be reprimanded (*cf. supra*, 9):

> et que ... les personnes venues de Cilicie pour nous induire en erreur trouvent leur voie dans le libelle de ta foi, se convertissent en adhèrent à la doctrine des apôtres ....

It is of some interest that the libellus does not include in its request for a reprimand the actual source of all the trouble, "the inhabitants of the East" who were after all the ones who brought the writings of Theodore into Armenia (*cf. supra*, 4a):

> Des hommes habitant en Orient sont venus chez nous. Ils voulaient nous troubler ... ayant apporté avec eux un écrit de Théodore, évêque de Mopsueste ...

But apparently the works of Theodore were also brought from Cilicia into Persarmenia, and thus the libellus requests an answer from Proclus (*cf. supra*, 6b):

> ... si nous devons faire confiance à ceux qui sont venus de Cilicie avec les livres de Théodore ...

Yet it is quite clear that the Cilicians had predominantly defended Theodore by accusing Rabbula and Acacius of personal motifs for their opposition to Theodore (*cf. supra*, 5):

[274] Cf. RICHARD, "Acace", p. 408.

[275] Innocentius speaks of the "blasphemies of Theodore", *cf. infra*, text to n. 282; for the context cf. n. 139.

Des hommes sont venus de Cilicie à nous et ont attaqué Acace ... de Mélitène et ... Rabboula, évêque d'Édesse, disant que ces derniers ont rejeté par inimitié et par haine les écrits de Théodore[276].

We have to come back to "the inhabitants of the East" who had brought the writings of Theodore into Persarmenia, thus causing the present trouble. Why should Proclus reach out to the Cilicians and guide only them to orthodoxy and not also "the inhabitants of the East"? Nothing further is said about these men. Either they were already dead and thus could not be corrected through the requested initiative from Proclus, or they were out of the immediate reach of the authority of the Patriarch of the capital of the Empire. Could it be that these men "of the East" were the Syrian patriarchs Brk'išo(y) and Š(a)muēl with their entourage who took over the leadership in the Persarmenian Church? The conjecture is legitimate since they certainly brought with them some of the most significant theological writings of their time, that is the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Both, Brk'išo(y) and Š(a)muel may have been very influential in the propagation of the theological tenets of Antioch[277], although they probably were not the first and only ones to make the Armenians acquainted with Theodore and other Antiochean theologians. This we have to associate with the first mission of Maštoc' and his sojourn in Edessa[278].

It is equally conceivable that the reference to the men from the East in the libellus is also an allusion to Ibas and his followers, since he played such a significant role in the dissemination of the works of Theodore, not only in Edessa, but also in Armenia. A colophon to Cod. Brit. Libr. Add. 12.156 of the sixth century provides the following information[279]:

After Ibas, the heretic, had translated (ܦܫܩ) the heretical writings of the godless Theodore, and had sent [them] to the Armenians, they wrote [to Proclus] wanting to learn from the blessed Proclus whether it was befitting

[276] Also reported by Innocentius and Liberatus; *cf. supra*, n. 139. The actions of Rabbula and Acacius, however, were not the immediate reason for the synod of the Armenians as Innocentius and Liberatus claim.

[277] *Cf. supra*, text to n. 68, 71, 72, 80, 81, 84, 85, and (3).

[278] *Cf. supra*, I (1).

[279] The text is quoted by WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, p. 644; first included in the survey on Armenian issues by PEETERS, "Jérémie", p. 21; IDEM, "Rabboula", p. 160, and "Origines", p. 209; then also taken over by DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 239-240 (n. 6), and most recently referred to by VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", p. 433.

> for them to receive [the writings of Theodore] and how they were to believe. He [= Proclus] addressed an answer to them in the text that is placed above[280].

This evidence is corroborated by Innocentius and Liberatus. There, however, Ibas is not mentioned; it is only said that Theodore's writings were translated "in linguam Syrorum, Armeniorum Persarumque[281]."

4. *The Volumen Theodori and its Origins*

The libellus of Leontius and Abelius reports (*cf. supra*, 7-8):

> En outre nous avons un ouvrage de Théodore. Nous te prions de voir si ce qui y est écrit est juste ...

This indicates that the Armenians forwarded, besides the libellus, either excerpts from Theodore's writings or a particular work of his. This is confirmed by Innocentius and Liberatus:

> ... et miserunt ... Leontium et Abelium ad Proclum ... cum libellis suis et uno uolumine Theodori Mompsuesteni. (*Innocentius*: et unum uolumen blasphemiarum Theodori ...)[282]

This *volumen Theodori* quite likely consisted not so much of one particular work of the famous Antiochean theologian but of excepts from his writings. These excerpts were compiled in Edessa and Melitene[283] as the Libellus, Innocentius and Liberatus indicate[284]. Here is the witness of the libellus (*cf. supra*, 4b, 6b):

> Ce Théodore, en effet, ainsi que nous le savons par les écrits du saint Mar Rabboula, évêque d'Édesse, et Mar Acace de Mélitène, qui l'ont bien montré, est un homme pervers ... Nous te demandons de nous préparer des écrits pour que nous sachions ... si nous devons ... nous en tenir à l'écrit des saints évêques Rabboula et Acace.

[280] Also the colophon implies that the *Tomus ad Armenios* by Proclus is the reply to the libellus of the Armenians, which is a mistake; *cf. supra*, text in connection with n. 139, and preceding n. 211; *infra*, text to n. 285-287, 289.

[281] Cf. *Innocentius* in *ACO* IV/2, p. 68; *Liberatus* X in *ACO* II/5, p. 110: "... ut ipsa eorum uolumina malitiose in Syrorum linguam et Armeniorum atque Persarum transferrent".

[282] Cf. *Liberatus* X in *ACO* II/5, p. 111; *Innocentius* in *ACO* IV/2, p. 68.

[283] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 25: "... und einem Band Exzerpte aus den Schriften Theodors, den Rabbula und Acacius vermutlich geliefert hatten ..."; ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 254.

[284] Cf. *Innocentius* in *ACO* IV/2, p. 68: "... utrum Theodori an Rabbulae et Acacii episcoporum uera esse probaretur ..."; likewise *Liberatus* X in *ACO* II/5, p. 111.

5. *The Alleged Reply of Proclus to the Libellus*

Innocentius, followed by Liberatus, contends that Proclus not only examined the libellus of the Armenians, but that he wrote his famous Tome in reply. Here is the witness of Innocentius:

> ... beatissimus itaque Proclus et libellus Armeniorum et uolumen Theodori diligenter examinans, admirabilem illam ad Armenios scripsit epistolam [285] ...

From this evidence it has been concluded [286], and repeated again and again [287], that the *Tomus ad Armenios* allegedly represents the official response of Proclus to the libellus of Leontius and Abelius. This theory has to be categorically ruled out because the content of the two documents does not allow such a conjecture. The major reason for the mistake of Innocentius lies in the fact that already by his time, a century after these events had occured, the documents available to Innocentius had become defective and incomplete [288]. The history of the campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia is a shameful and embarrassing one, and the parties involved, in particular Alexandria, Constantinople and those who heeded the ruthless demarche of Rabbula and Acacius, could have had no interest in keeping accurate records. The first scholar to challenge the reliability of Innocentius was Richard: "Le récit d'Innocent ne mérite d'ailleurs que peu de confiance [289]." The erudite Richard was unfamiliar with Armenian matters and this prevented him from arguing his suspicions about the trustworthiness of Innocentius more forcefully. Van Rompay is the first one to succinctly summarize the main points which speak against the theory that the Tome of Proclus is the reply to the libellus:

> (1) The Tome does not provide an answer to the clear questions of the ... letter [of Leontius and Abelius]; (2) the writers of the letter are not named

[285] Cf. previous n.

[286] Among the first was the authoritative voice of SCHWARTZ (in 1914), *Konzilstudien*, p. 26; see also VARDANIAN (in 1913), "Briefwechsel", p. 415.

[287] PEETERS weighty contributions added to the entrenchment: "Rabboula" (in 1928), p. 161; "Origines" (1929), p. 215; see in addition DEVREESSE, "Début" (of 1931), p. 552-553 and *Théodore de Mopsueste* (of 1948), p. 130-140; more recently: TALLON, *Livre des lettres* (in 1955), p. 22; MÉCÉRIAN, *Histoire*, p. 52, and SARKISSIAN (also 1965 — I quote according to the ed. of 1975), p. 139, 143-147, *et al.*

[288] *Cf. supra*, context of n. 142-144.

[289] Cf. RICHARD, "Acace", p. 409 (n. 1); in regard to the connection between the libellus and the Tome see also p. 407-409, and the critical remarks of ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 265-266; *cf. supra*, context of n. 142-144.

in the Tome; (3) it has been argued convincingly that, in contrast with what is suggested in the letter, Leontius and Abel[ius] were not entrusted with an official mission by the leaders of the Armenian Church[290].

We can elaborate on these main points. The libellus had presented a forthright survey on the pro- and anti-Theodorean parties, and it requested a clear-cut answer from Proclus: should Theodore's writings be rejected or not. The *Tomus ad Armenios*, in the form in which we know it, does not interact with the libellus at all. It was also noted that the libellus of Leontius and Abelius is a veritable denunciation of Theodore. Again, the Tome of Proclus does not even mention the name of Theodore. And it was observed that the libellus came neither from the official head of the Armenian Church at that time, the Syrian Patriarch Š(a)muēl, nor from the most important Armenian dignitary, Sahak. The libellus arrived in Constantinople as a denunciation of Theodore by the significant, albeit powerless anti-Antiochean group of the Armenian clergy who were represented by Leontius and Abelius. How could the Patriarch of Constantinople possibly answer these Armenian emissaries who had no official standing in the Persarmenian Church since they came neither from Š(a)muēl nor from Sahak? The only possible response of Proclus could have been a diplomatic deferral of the matter or some vague promises of some indirect action[291]. And that is precisely how the shrewd and prudent Proclus seems to have proceeded.

[290] Cf. VAN ROMPAY, "Proclus", p. 433 (*cf. supra*, n. 182, 193).

[291] If there was a written reply, then it would constitute the second letter to the Armenians. Innocentius speaks later on in vague terms of a second Tome; cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 38: "... puto namque quia secundam post haec edidit paginam, propter quod Basilius in suis libellis unam, tantum Alexandriam se detulisse memorauit; uerumtamen, siue prius hanc siue postea scripserit, sic in ea docuit, libros Theodori esse uitandos sicut Arrii Eunomiique blasphemias". In this context is Theodore indeed condemned; cf. SCHWARTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 43-44; DEVREESSE, "Début", p. 555, SARKISSIAN, p. 145-146. Yet such an alleged second Tome is not confirmed by any other witness; cf. SCHWARTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 43: "Ein zweiter Tomus des Proklus an die Armenier kommt in der sonstigen Überlieferung nirgends vor"; see also p. 47, 50, 57. Moreover, Liberatus (in *ACO* II/5, p. 112) corrected the misrepresentation of Innocentius by attributing the condemnation of Theodore to the enigmatic figure of Basilius; cf. SCHWARTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 43-44; DEVREESSE, "Début", p. 555. With regard to the condemnation of Theodore, also the Armenian version of the Tome of Proclus (and only in the Armenian text!) explicitly repudiates Theodore. However, this passage is a later interpolation; it does not form part of the original *Tomus ad Armenios* (*cf. supra*, text to n. 219). Proclus never officially condemned the writings of Theodore or the person.

There is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that Proclus may have had the intent to move against Theodore by 437 while shirking away from assuming full responsibility for being part of the agitation against the famous bishop of Mopsuestia. It also is conceivable that Proclus may not have appreciated the official reply of the Armenian bishops and Patriarch Š(a)muēl gathered at Aštišat, and that he probably looked for an opportunity to emphasize the doctrinal significance of his *Tomus ad Armenios*. The occasion presented itself unexpectedly. Indeed, it offered the Patriarch of Constantinople the possibility not only to promote his doctrinal views espoused in his Tome throughout the entire Christian East, but as well to surreptitiously strike at the very centre of all the trouble — Antioch.

VII. The affair of Ibas and its consequences [292]

After the death of Rabboula in 435 or 436 [293] his opponent Ibas had become bishop of Edessa, "sicherlich nicht ohne Zutun des Johannes von Antiochien [294]". Ibas held Theodore of Mopsuestia in highest esteem, and he also had strong convictions about Theodore's orthodoxy. Being now bishop of Edessa, he began once more to propagate the writings of Theodore, not without opposition from the followers of Rabbula who were only waiting for an occasion to agitate against the present bishop of Edessa.

Ibas "was imprudent enough to translate the allegedly heretical excerpts of Theodore" which the Armenian presbyters Leontius and Abelius had sent to Proclus for censure, and which Ibas, however, began now to circulate as orthodox [295]. Ibas was not to prevail in his

[292] There are still several questions unanswered with regard to Ibas' translation of certain excerpts from Theodore, the Tome of Proclus with the *capitula*, and the repercussions Ibas' action had. Anyone who will venture in the reconstruction of the events after Ephesus, or attempt to fully assimilate the painstaking analysis of the available documents by Luise Abramowski can only agree with the learned German scholar: "Nach der Lektüre dieser Auszüge [der Korrespondenz] wird man begreifen, wie schwierig es schon im 6. Jht. war, mit Sicherheit zu sagen, wer wem durch wen was geschickt hat [— und weshalb!]..."; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 278.

[293] For the date cf. Peeters, "Rabboula", p. 163-169; Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, p. 27; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 254; Blum, *Rabbula*, p. 7-8, 195.

[294] Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 26.

[295] I follow Schwartz (*Konzilstudien*, p. 28) in the outline of events (correcting Schwartz when necessary on the basis of Richard and Abramowski): "Hiba von Edessa

provocative attempt to disseminate these excerpts from Theodore as orthodox writings. His defiant move provoked considerable tumult in Edessa[296], and complaints were lodged against him in the imperial City[297]. The subsequently renewed denunciations of Theodore seem to have reached the Patriarch of Constantinople through two different channels, namely through an Armenian group of monks opposed to Theodore's christology, who also may have had contact with their fellow countrymen Leontius and Abelius[298], and through the Antio-

war unvorsichtig genug gewesen, die von den Armeniern eingereichten Exzerpte ins Syrische zu übersetzen und als orthodox anzupreisen". The conjecture of Schwartz has great probability despite the fact that we have no witness which identifies the excerpts from Theodore translated by Ibas with those sent to Proclus by Leontius and Abelius; *cf. infra*, n. 303.

[296] Cf. the subsequent letter of Proclus to John of Antioch publ. in MANSI, col. 270 (quoted again col. 302): "Multi inclamant hic religiosissimum episcopum Edessenorum Ibam, non solum clerici quidem Edesseni et monachi, sed etiam primates et clari militiae, quibus rectae fidei calidus zelus accenditur, quia tantum Nestorii dementiam diligit, ut et quaedam capitula, quae supposita scripto a nobis ad Armenios tomo direxi tuae reverentiae, stulta ac profana constituta, et omni impietate plena, transferret Syrorum voce et transmitteret ubique ...". See also RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 303-304; DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 239 and 140-141 (n. 3), 144 (n. 5); SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 28 (n. 2).

[297] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 304 for the role of archimandrite Dalmatius in the matter.

[298] It is also conceivable that Leontius and Abelius formed part of this Armenian group. The deacon Pelagius (cf. DEVREESSE, *Pelagii*, lib. III, p. 15, 17, 18, 28; see also I, p. 2; II, 6; III, p. 21, 26), but also Liberatus (in *ACO* II/5, p. 112) emphasize the role of the Armenians in the renewed campaign against Theodore (cf. DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 142-143; IDEM, "Début", p. 556), whereas the letters of John of Antioch to Cyrill and the Emperor seem to point to Maximus as the main agitator; cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 276; RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 309-310 (n. 1 and 4).

The connection between the role of the Armenians on the one hand (cf. Pelagius and Liberatus) and Maximus on the other (cf. the correspondence of John to the Emperor and Cyrill) requires a separate investigation. Devreesse relies to a considerable extent on Pelagius (and Liberatus), whereas Richard tends to have little confidence in their testimony. Here are the most important passages in Pelagius, including Liberatus and related evidence:

(1) *Pelagius*, lib. III (ed. DEVREESSE, p. 15): "Etenim cum monachi Armenii ... uenientes Constantinopolim cum fauore personarum ... tam regiae ciuitates episcopum sancte memoriae Proclum quam diue memoriae imperatorem Theodosium commouissent, ut ad Orientales ecclesias capitula, quae dicebant de libris esse Theodori, mitterentur, et cum suo auctore, ut datur intellegi, eadem dogmata peterent condemnari ...". Cf. DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 142-143; IDEM, "Début", p. 556. See also *Pelagius* (DEVREESSE, p. 18), quoted as well in Abramowski, "Streit", p. 274.

(2) *Liberatus* X in *ACO* II/5, p. 112: "Post haec autem occasione accepta surrexerunt quidam monachi ab Armenia Apollinaris sectatores duo uel tres, sicut refert Iohannes Antiochenus in epistula sua, portantes excerpta capitula, ut dicebant, de

chean archimandrite Maximus[299]. Proclus seems to have promptly grasped this unexpected opportunity to move against Antiochean christology by ruse and by stealth. He proceeded with utmost prudence and dexterity. The deacon Theodotus was dispatched to John of Antioch with the following documents[300]:

(a) an indignant letter to the Patriarch of Antioch about the Ibas-

libris Theodori Mompsuesteni ... et intrantes regiam ciuitatem et multorum sordidantes auditum callididate sua omnia perturbabant ...". Cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 274; RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 309-310 (n. 4).

(3) *Barḥadbešabba*, cap. 29 (cf. NAU, *Barḥadbešabba*, p. 576: "C'est après des indices de ce genre que certains moines qui vivaient dans l'amour des mauvaises actions, qui ne pouvaient rester en repos et ne connaissent pas leur mesure, au nombre de deux ou trois, commencèrent à aboyer sans pudeur contre les prêtres de l'Église, et, parce qu'ils reçurent un encouragement de là-[haut; i.e. Constantinople; cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 274] et une certaine parenté, à ce qu'ils pensèrent, provenant de leur malice commune, ils se dispersèrent et vinrent ici [i.e. Antioche] avec grand orgueil, demandant ce qui aurait causé grand difficulté même à un concile œcuménique, et eux, qui auraient eu besoin de l'enseignement des docteurs s'efforçaient d'instruire, d'autorité, ceux qui avaient veilli en enseignant, et ils tentaient encore de troubler les Églises". Cf. ABRAMOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 274; DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 142.

(4) Additional references in *Pelagius*: (a) the Armenians are characterized as heretics, lib. I (DEVREESSE, p. 2): "... quia heretici sunt"; lib. II (p. 6): "... et per hereticos, quales supradictos Armenios monachos fuisse claruit, potuit infamari ..."; lib. III (p. 21): "... uel certe quia heretici erant monachi ipsi ..."; see also p. 26; (b) in lib. III (p. 26) it is confirmed that the Armenians went to Constantinople: "... ad regiam urbem pergentes mouent ..." (c) See also lib. III (p. 17, 18).

(5) *Synodicon* quoted in DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 142-143: "Πρός τούτοις ἐξ Ἀρμενίας εὐλαβεῖς τινὲς μοναχοὶ τὴν βασιλίδα κατέλαβον, ἀπαγγέλοντες, ὡς Θεοδώρου βιβλία τοῦ Μομψουεστίας βλασφημιῶν ὄντα ἀνάμεστα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ σεμνύνουσιν ἀντὶ Νεστορίου κατέχοντες ..."; see also Papadopoulos - Kerameus, also quoted by DEVREESSE, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

(6) Excerpts from the letter of John of Antioch to Cyrill (cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 63): "... nunc autem idem ipsi <uelut ex somno exsurgentes> perrexerunt ad regiam ciuitatem et eam perturbantes ecclesiasticam pacem, quantum in ipsis est, turbauerunt".

(7) From the letter of John to Proclus (quoted by ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 274, see also p. 276): "... si quidem sobrie agere velint qui turbis et iuvenalibus levitatibus contra commune corpus ecclesiae nunc nescio potestate sumpta utuntur et suas quidem patrias relinquentes, venientes vero ad imperii urbem et calumnia adversum proprios episcopos eorum qui illic sunt, sordidentes auditus, non utique nunc necessarium fuerat".

[299] For Maximus cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 27-28; for clarifications concerning the different Maximi cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 277.

[300] I generally follow ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 266-274, 276 (including the discussions of Schwartz and Richard) in connection with the highly complicated circumstances which surround the dispatch of the Tome of Proclus to Antioch and the ensueing correspondence between Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria.

affair in which he requested from John of Antioch to have Ibas repudiate certain *capitula*[301];

(b) his *Tomus ad Armenios*[302];

(c) to which he had attached additional material, the *capitula* without revealing the identity of the *capitula*. The *capitula* apparently consisted of those excerpts from Theodore's writings which Leontius and Abelius had sent to Constantinople some time ago. Now, however, they were presented to Antioch *sine nomine*[303]!

The shrewd calculation of Proclus was matched by an equally dexterous demarche of John of Antioch. He knew or realized that the author of the *capitula* was none other than Theodore of Mopsuestia, and thus the Patriarch of Antioch decided to effectively shield Ibas by convoking a synod in 438[304].

According to Richard, it was the deacon Maximus who informed the Patriarch of Constantinople about the growing opposition among

[301] Cf. n. 296.

[302] ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 270-271 assumes that the Tome had not been sent to Antioch prior to the letter about Ibas: "[Die Frage erhebt sich] ob Tomus und capitula schon vor diesem Brief [über Ibas] nach Antiochien geschickt worden waren oder erst mit ihm zusammen. Doch scheint die Beschränkung der heiklen Angelegenheit zunächst auf Ibas darauf hinzuweisen, dass Johannes und seine Diözese in der Tat noch nicht offiziell mit dem Werk des Proklus bekannt gemacht waren. Und wenn Johannes zugemutet wurde, von Ibas eine Unterschrift und schriftliche Verdammung unter Tomus bzw. capitula einzutreiben, musste man ihm wenigstens das dazu nötige Exemplar des Tomus zur Verfügung stellen".

[303] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 28: "[Proklus] schickte den Tomus, den er vor einigen Jahren an die Armenier gerichtet hatte an [Johannes von Antiochien], legte ferner die Exzerpte aus Theodor, die ihm damals aus Armenien [durch Leontius und Abelius] zugeschickt waren, bei, aber ohne den Namen Theodors zu nennen". Schwartz is probably right when he establishes a direct connection between the *volumen Theodori* brought to Proclus by Leontius and Abelius and the excerpts Ibas had translated into Syriac, and the *capitula* attached to the *Tomus ad Armenios* when it was sent to Antioch; cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 276: "Es gibt ... nirgendwo den geringsten Hinweis darauf wie sich das volumen Theodori, das [durch Leontius und Abelius] an Proklus [gesandt worden war], und jener tomus alter mit Theodor-Exzerpten, die [zuerst Ibas, dann ebenso] die Antiochener verdammen sollten, zueinander verhalten. Schwartz identifizierte beide, worin ich ihm Recht geben möchte. Devreesse [*Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 143-144 (n. 6)] sieht [irrtümlich] zwei verschiedene volumina darin, wie seine Darstellung erkennen lässt, Richard berührt diesen Punkt nicht. Liberatus X lässt beide Deutungen zu; er versucht erst gar nicht, zwischen den beiden Bänden des Beweismaterials eine Beziehung herzustellen ..."; see also p. 269-271; Richard, "Proclus", p. 304. (I do not follow the outline of DEVREESSE, *Théodore of Mopsueste*, p. 143-152.)

[304] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 304-305; SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 29; ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 272-273.

the Antiocheans[305], upon which Proclus sent another letter to Antioch in which he now demanded from all the bishops present at the synod that which originally had only been requested from Ibas : to sign the Tome and reject the *capitula*[306]. The Antiochean synod reiterated their position taken at Ephesus in 431, and repeated in Antioch 437, namely their opposition to any deviation from the Creed of Nicea[307], and they refused to condemn the *capitula*. Thus they effectively shielded their own christology and defended Theodore of Mopsuestia. The decision was communicated to Proclus, the Emperor, and to Cyril of Alexandria[308]; and they blamed meddlesome and vagabond monks for the agitation in connection with the *capitula*[309]. The response of the Antiocheans, which resembled to some extent that of the Armenian Synod of Aštišat in 435/436[310], was not of course the solution Proclus must had had in mind.

(1) *The Reaction of Constantinople*

In his reply to John of Antioch, Proclus insisted on the anonymous character of the *capitula*, adding that he would not condemn someone who had already died (*neque autem de Theodoro neque de alio quoquam, qui iam defuncti sunt, scripsi*)[311]. Proclus also wrote a letter to Maximus of similar nature regarding the "capitula autem subdita sine nomine (!)" adding :

> Quomodo igitur per litteras didici nunc quia Theodori Mopsuesteni et aliorum quorumdam nomina praeposita sunt capitulis ad anathematizandum, cum illi ad Deum iam migraverint ...
> Rogo ergo, festina sicut filius patri obediens nihil amplius exquirere ...

[305] Cf. Richard, "Proclus", p. 305.

[306] *Ibid.*, p. 305; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 277.

[307] *Cf. supra*, n. text to n. 238-242.

[308] Cf. Richard, "Proclus", p. 306-310; Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 29-30, 31; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 273-274; Devreesse, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 145-148.

[309] Richard ("Proclus", p. 305-306 [n. 4], 308, 309 [n. 1]) and Schwartz (*Konzilstudien*, p. 27-28) see behind the campaign against Theodore of Mopsuestia Maximus, whereas Devreesse (*Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 142-143 [n. 5]) associates it with the Armenians. The origin and main source of all the trouble may very well be connected with these Armenians (*cf. supra*, n. 298). At this juncture, however, it is probably Maximus who is meant in the synodal letters.

[310] *Cf. supra*, text following n. 244.

[311] *Pelagius*, lib. iii; Devreesse, p. 24 (line 16-17); Abramowski, "Streit", p. 275; see also Richard, "Proclus", p. 310.

> post subscriptione autem tomi, et post abiectionem capitulorum, quae cuius sint ignoramus[!], continuo praepara venire ad regiam civitatem[312] ...

It is difficult not to accuse Proclus of hypocrisy and insincerety when he insists on not knowing about the author of the *capitula*[313]. His shrewd maneuver to divert attention away from Theodore by implicating "also others" (... *et aliorum quorumdam nomina praeposita sunt capitulis* ...) is misleading at best, since there was never anyone else implied or openly associated with the *capitula* but Theodore of Mopsuestia[314]. Proclus' insistence on the anonymity of the *capitula* at any price despite the demarche of the Armenians[315], the opposition from the Antiocheans, the blunt references to Theodore by Cyril of Alexandria[316], and the fact that indeed everyone was aware that the *capitula* were excerpts from the writings of Theodore[317], make it difficult to believe Proclus' claim not to know what everyone else knew.

More aggravating is the fact that he had his emissaries in Antioch, the deacons Maximus and Theodotus, to carry the brunt of the ugly affair[318]. His willingness to expose and possibly even sacrifice his

[312] *Facundus* VIII, 2,5 included in ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 275; RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 311-312; for Maximus and Theodotus, the two emissaries of Proclus, cf. ABRAMOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 276-277; SCHWARTZ (*Konzilstudien*, p. 34) puts these two letters of Proclus at the end of the agitation against Theodore; see the critique of RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 312 (n. 3).

[313] RICHARD ("Proclus", p. 312) remains ambivalent about Proclus : "Le deux lettres nous montrent sur le vif l'embarras du bon Proclus. Il était certainement sincère quand il déclarait qu'il ne voulait pas condamner Théodore de Mopsueste ... Il était même d'une certaine façon, quand il prétendait [!] maintenir à tout prix l'anonymat des *capitula*. Pour prouver sa bonne foi on le sent prêt à sacrifier l'indiscret [Maximus] qui, par haine de Théodore, a compromis la mission de Théodote". See also next note.

[314] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 311 : "Je me demande quels pouvaient être ces '*aliorum quorumdam nomina*' dont parle Proclus. La lettre synodale des Orientaux ne parlait que de Théodore ... Je suis tenté de croire à une manœuvre de l'archevêque de Constantinople pour détourner dans une petite mesure l'attention trop centrée sur le seul Théodore". See also ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 275, 277-278.

[315] *Cf. supra*, text to n. 298.

[316] Cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 277.

[317] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 313 : "... tout le monde savait, à Constantinople, comme en Syrie, en Arménie, en Égypte, que ces *capitula* étaient tirés des œuvres de Théodore".

[318] Cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 278 : "Die prekäre Situation seiner beiden Diakone [Maximus und Theodotus] in Antiochien nach dieser Instruktion kann man sich vorstellen, zumal Theodotus offensichtlich den Auftrag hatte, aus Antiochien nicht zu wanken und zu weichen, bis er den Tomus unterschrieben, einschliesslich ausdrücklicher Verdammung der capitula, mitnehmen konnte".

subordinate Maximus[319] seems to demonstrate that the Patriarch of Constantinople was determined to undermine the Antiochean School by having Theodore's writings condemned in such a way that Constantinople could not be openly held responsible for the campaign against Theodore.

The Patriarch of Alexandria — albeit a man of equal astuteness — had to also eventually yield. Yet his retreat became *un peu plus pénible* than the one of his colleague in the imperial City.

(2) *The Reaction of Cyril of Alexandria*

The complex matter of this sequence of events and the various letters of Cyril were carefully scrutinized by Luise Abramowski[320]. Cyril apparently had visited his colleague Juvenal in Jerusalem at the time of[321] or shortly after the Synod of Antioch[322]. There he received a sealed envelope with *florilegia* from a high dignitary — equally *sine nomine*. These documents stemmed from opponents of John of Antioch and contained denunciations that the Antiocheans had indeed rejected Nestorius but that they now studied the works of Theodore about the incarnation all the more zealously, which were allegedly worse than the blasphemy of Nestorius[323].

While still being in Jerusalem, Cyril wrote to John of Antioch a courteous, but caustic letter. He told the Antiocheans that they had better not praise so highly the opinions of the godless Diodore and Theodore, nor associate these men with Athanasius, Basil, and others. At the end of his letter he included a veiled threat that the matter could possibly end up in the civil courts[324]. Then he wrote a letter alerting those who shared his opinion : Acacius of Melitene, Firmus of Cesarea, and Theodotus of Ancyra, including his letter to John of Antioch[325].

Upon Cyril's return to Alexandria, he received the archimandrite

[319] Cf. n. 313.

[320] Cf. Abramowski, "Streit", p. 278-285.

[321] Cf. Richard, "Proclus", p. 313.

[322] Cf. Abramowski, "Streit", p. 283.

[323] Cf. Richard, "Proclus", p. 313; Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 30; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 282.

[324] Cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 30, 31; Richard, "Proclus", p. 314-315; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 283.

[325] Cf. Richard, "Proclus", p. 315; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 285.

Maximus with pomp and circumstance[326]. Maximus had travelled about insinuating that he had imperial decrees which included the condemnation of the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia[327]. In addition Maximus had visited Acacius of Melitene, one of the most bitter opponents of Theodore and the Antiocheans in general. Acacius promptly wrote an angry letter to John of Antioch, which Maximus now handed over to Cyril. At the instigation of archimandrite Maximus, Cyril wrote an *Expositio symboli*. This was in answer to the habit of the Antiocheans to persistently refer to the Nicean Creed while interpreting it according to their own views[328]. Then he swiftly composed *Adversus Diodorum et Theodorum*, apparently on the basis of the *florilegia* which had been handed over to him in Jerusalem with the denunciation against the Antiocheans. Subsequently he sent the archimandrite Maximus with these documents to Constantinople and Melitene. In the accompanying letters he accused Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia of the worst heresies[329]. The reason for this dispatch was of course to instigate an official and imperial campaign against Theodore, now including Diodore as well[330].

(3) *The Opposition of Antioch and its Consequences*

John of Antioch had risked sacrificing his friend Nestorius in 433 in order to prevent the undoing of his own leading position in the Church and the collapse of the School of Antioch. The politically motivated peace between Antioch and Alexandria in 433 had been very costly for Antioch[331]; and the then vicious denunciation in Jeru-

[326] The archimandrite Maximus is not to be confounded with the deacon Maximus; cf. n. 299.

[327] The Imperial Constitution of 435/436 was directed against the followers of Nestorius only, not against Theodore; cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 30; ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 253 (n. 9); for Maximus see also RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 315-316.

[328] Also the Armenians had defended at the Synod of Aštišat their christological tenets by pointing to the Nicene Creed which they included in their synodal letter to Proclus of Constantinople; *cf. supra*, text prior to n. 245.

[329] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 316-317; SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 32; ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 282-284.

[330] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 317.

[331] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 20: "Es war ein Friede, der der diplomatischen Schlauheit der Paziszenten mehr Ehre machte, als ihrem Eifer für die von ihnen verfochtenen Glaubensformeln. Cyrill erkannte die sehr vorsichtig gefasste Lehre der Antiochener als orthodox an und gewann damit, dass sein aus hierarchischem Interesse gegen den konstantinopeler Stuhl unternommener Angriff als Glaubenskampf sanktioniert

salem, the rude letters with the implicit threat of the civil courts, and the blunt accusations at the imperial City by Cyril only demonstrated too clearly how tenuous this agreement of 433 had always been[332]. Now the position of Proclus was also at stake since John of Antioch could expose Proclus' pretense of not knowing who the author of the *capitula* was[333]. The rampant campaign against Theodore by Cyril and Acacius had put Proclus in a very difficult position.

Once more John of Antioch convoked a synod at which the Antiocheans firmly declared that they would never condemn their most revered theologians, and that "they would rather be burnt alive" before yielding in this matter[334]. In bitter words they complained about those "who abandon their countries to reach the capital of the Empire and to stain the ears of those who live there with their calumnies against their bishops[335]...".

The seemingly impossible happened: Cyril yielded. No evidence has survived to indicate the reasons for this dramatic turn of events. Yet there can be only one reason for Cyril's unexpected retreat from the battle-ground: strong pressures from Constantinople[336]. Cyril's and Acacius' ruthless campaign against Theodore had made Proclus' pretense of ignorance about the author of the *capitula* absolutely untenable. Moreover, they had led the Patriarch of Constantinople into the most

wurde, ferner dass er seine Anathematismen gegen Nestorius nicht zu widerrufen brauchte; Johannes glaubte die antiochenische Lehrtradition und seine Führerstellung in der Kirche damit retten zu können, dass er den Freund als Ketzer preisgab. Dass seine Parteigenossen sich nicht alle in diese kühle Höhe der Politik aufzuschwingen vermochten, ist ein schöner Beweis dafür, dass es unter den Bischöfen noch Männer von Ehre und Gewissen gab ...".

[332] *Ibid.*, p. 33: "Die Gefahr, dass die Union von 433 zerriss, dass die Tünche nicht hielt, mit der die Herrschsucht der beiden Patriarchen von Alexandrien und Antiochien damals das Schisma notdürftig verschmiert hatten, rückte in drohende Nähe". See in addition DEVREESSE, *Théodore de Mopsueste*, p. 130-131.

[333] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 317-318: "Il dut éprouver un secret plaisir à montrer aux représentants de l'archevêque de Constantinople les lettres de Cyrille et d'Acace qui réduisaient à néant la thèse de leur maître sur l'anonymat des *capitula*. Il était désormais patent que c'était Théodore de Mopsueste que l'on cherchait à atteindre à travers eux. Mis au courant, Proclus du être excessivement embarrassé".

[334] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 33; RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 319, 320.

[335] Possibly a reference either to Maximus or the Armenian monks; *cf. supra*, n. 298 (2: Liberatus who associates the issue with the Armenians; 7: letter of John to Proclus where probably Maximus and consorts are meant). See in addition RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 318.

[336] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 322 (followed by ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 285); SCHWARTZ (*Konzilstudien*, p. 36) sees here the strong hand of Pulcheria.

embarrassing cul-de-sac. Cyril had to give in and carry the responsibility for his actions. That Cyril was constrained to retreat is clearly seen in the fact that he left Proclus in no doubt about his opinion in regard to Theodore (— the pertinent passage is presented in Richard's French translation —):

> Que nous trouvions dans ses écrits des explications vraiment extraordinaires et semées de purs blasphèmes, personne de ceux qui ont le jugement sain n'en doutera[337] ...

Cyril also contends that the condemnation of Nestorius implicitly included Theodore[338]. At the same time he tactfully avoids reminding Proclus of the delicate matter of the allegedly anonymous *capitula*. Towards the end of his letter he asks the Patriarch of Constantinople to assist the procedures of pacification by also bringing the archimandrite Maximus to reason[339].

It would be interesting to know what John of Antioch thought and felt upon receiving a letter from Cyril in which he shared with John how deeply stirred he was about the anguish of the Antiocheans when they had to defend Theodore, this "admirable man who is entitled to the highest praise" among them (... *pro uiro admirabili [clamantes] ⟨et⟩ maximam gloriam merente apud uos, Theodorum dico* ...)[340]. He had the boldness to add how grave it is to insult the dead, especially the deceased bishops (... *cedo existimantibus grave esse defunctis insultare, licet saeculares sint, quanto magis etiam eis qui in episcopatu uita decesserunt* ...)[341].

In regard to the rampageous agitation because of the *capitula*, he is quick to hold archimandrite Maximus responsible for it. Indeed, a large portion of the letter concerns Maximus who is depicted as the source of all the trouble. Thus the Patriarch of Alexandria clearly detaches himself from his emissary whom he upbraids as an agitator. We have seen a precedent for this procedure in Constantinople. Proclus also had exposed his subordinates in Antioch with the same intent to sacrifice his emissaries when necessary.

[337] Cf. RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 320.
[338] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 33; RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 320.
[339] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 69; RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 321.
[340] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 67; RICHARD, "Proclus", p. 321.
[341] Cf. SCHWARTZ, *Konzilstudien*, p. 70.

An imperial decree, which expressed the desire for bringing an end to this dispute concerning those who had died in the peace of the Church, closed for the time being this daunting story about the campaign against one of the most revered Antiochean theologians[342].

VIII. The rewriting of history

The Patriarch of Constantinople has never openly condemned the writings of Theodore. Yet, in view of Proclus' double-faced attitude toward the christology of Theodore, it is not surprising therefore that later opponents of the bishop of Mopsuestia associated the campaign against Theodore also with the Patriarch of Constantinople. For example, the sixth century writer Innocentius Maroniae is quite candid about the involvement of Proclus in the condemnation of Theodore, which his contemporary Liberatus rightly exposes as being historically incorrect[343].

We also have seen the eagerness with which the Armenians altered their version of the Tome of Proclus in order to prove that already Proclus had allegedly pronounced himself against Theodore, condemning his writings[344]. Fortunately the text of the Tome has been preserved in several other versions and in the Greek original in which the name of Theodore is not even mentioned. Thus we know that the Armenian addition has to be interpreted as a later interpolation.

Considering the events in hindsight, some of the Armenian historiographers either attempted to rewrite Armenia's history themselves, or their accounts were subsequently altered by others. Both, Movsēs Xorenac'i and Koriwn illucidate my point. It was already noted that the passage concerning Theodore in Movsēs was probably inserted later and that it may not have been part of the original account[345]. Here is once more an excerpt from Movsēs:

> (a) The holy fathers gathered ... at Ephesus ... [and] they anathematized Nestorius ...

[342] Cf. Richard, "Proclus", p. 322-323: "Cette conclusion de l'affair causa évidemment une grosse déception dans le milieux monophysites ... Le plus compromis durent se terrer, peut-être s'enfuir; les autres se taire ..."; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 286.

[343] Cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 43-44; *cf. supra*, n. 291.

[344] *Cf. supra*, text following n. 219.

[345] *Cf. supra*, text following n. 168.

(b) And since Sahak the Great and Maštoc' were not present at the Council,
(c) the bishops of Alexandria, Proclus of Constantinople and Acacius of Melitene wrote to them by putting them on guard.
(d) For they had heard that some of his unorthodox disciples had gone to the country of the Armenians, taking the books of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius and disciple of Diodore[346].

Now, it is well known that only the christology of Nestorius had been rejected at Ephesus in 431. Neither Theodore of Mopsuestia nor Diodore of Tarsus were under suspicion of heresy at that time. Also the Imperial Constitution of 435/436 had still only indicted the followers of Nestorius. The earliest accusation against Theodore originated in Edessa through Rabbula in 432[347]. Acacius of Melitene had unsuccessfully railed against Theodore in 433 in connection with the politically motivated agreement between Antioch and Alexandria[348]. Even in 436 Cyril's attempt to have the christology of the Antiocheans rejected in general had failed[349]. Hence the innuendo in Movsēs about Theodore having been the teacher of a heretic like Nestorius (d), while insinuating that the condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus also implicated Theodore[350], is not corroborated by historical facts. Moreover, the historicity of of the claim that Proclus wrote to Sahak and Maštoc' to warn them about Theodore, because they had not been present at the Council of Ephesus, has to be called into question. A man of utmost prudence like Proclus, who went out of his way to camouflage his later clandestine move against Theodore in 438 by resisting to name the author of the capitula, would hardly have formulated blunt accusations against Theodore. Besides, the Council of Ephesus took place in 431; at that time when Proclus allegedly warned Sahak about Theodore, Sahak was not even in office, but in exile. The Armenian Patriarch had been pushed out of office in 428 only to return in 432 under the most unfavourable conditions; it was his colleague Š(a)muēl who wielded

[346] Cf. Movsēs Xorenac'i, lib. iii, 61; Abełean - Yarut'iwnean, p. 342-343; Thomson, *Moses*, p. 335-336.

[347] Cf. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, p. 23; Abramowski, "Streit", p. 253.

[348] *Cf. supra*, n. 165.

[349] Cf. previous note.

[350] Also Cyril had defiantly claimed in 438 that the condemnation of Nestorius in Ephesus implied also that of Theodore. His allegation remained unsuccessful; *cf. supra*, text to n. 338. The same is true for Acacius, cf. text to n. 115.

all the power[351]. The letter of Proclus referred to in Movsēs has to be interpreted as an allusion to the Tome of Proclus. Yet nowhere in the original Tome was Theodore even mentioned by name. In addition, the Tome was not addressed to Sahak, but to the bishops of Persarmenia[352]. Hence the entire passage concerning Theodore in Movsēs Xorenac'i gives a distorted picture of that period[353].

Something similar has to be said about Koriwn. The claims about Theodore in Koriwn are historically incorrect as well. Either Koriwn himself or conceivably a later scribe[354] presents a fictitious account of Theodore and Sahak in his famous Vita of Mesrop Maštoc'. In contrast to Movsēs, who reported about Theodore in connection with his narration about the Council of Ephesus, the reference to Theodore in Koriwn immediately precedes Sahak's death[355] in 438 or 439. Here is the relevant text[356]:

(a) At that time were brought into [and] appeared in the country of Armenia
(b) the fallacious books [and] the prattling traditions of a man... named Theodore (*T'ēodoros*),
(c) wherefore the synodal patriarchs[357] having informed the holy churches, churches,
(d) gave notice to the right-believing (*čšmartahawat*) worshippers Sahak and Maštoc'.
(e) And [in] their love for truth, they removed them promptly from their midst,
(f) [and] expelled [them by] casting [them] out beyond their borders
(h) that no satantic smoke might be attached to [their] luminous teaching.

The text has some difficulties. For example, who is meant with the *siwnhodosakan hayrapetk'* ("synodal patriarchs") [c]? If this somewhat obscure passage is an allusion to the Council of Ephesus in 431, then it absolutely precludes the possibility that the patriarchs (i.e. Proclus

[351] *Cf. supra*, II (2).
[352] *Cf. supra*, text to n. 189.
[353] *pace*, Sarkissian, p. 129, 230 (Sarkissian's main weakness is that he accepts the evidence of Xorenac'i and other sources too uncritically).
[354] About the notoriously difficult issue concerning the textual transmission of Koriwn *cf. supra*, n. 101.
[355] *Cf. supra*, n. 169.
[356] Cf. Abelean, *Koriwn*, p. 90-91; my translation differs from Sarkissian's, p. 128-129; German in Weber, *BKV I*, p. 226 and Inglisian, "Beziehungen", p. 48 (the French translation in Langlois II, p. 14 is of *Koriwn II*; for *Koriwn I* and *II cf. supra*, n. 101).
[357] Perhaps the *siwnhodosakan hayrapetac'n* should not be rendered with: "[On this matter] *the bishops ... assembled in Synod*" (Sarkissian, p. 128, 231). For some etymological comments cf. Akinean, "Patmut'iwn", p. 311 [n. 75] (= *Koriwn*, p. 104 [n. 75]).

of Constantinople or Cyril of Alexandria) had contacted the Armenians to assail Theodore at that time. Furthermore, we have already observed that Sahak — whom the "synodal patriarchs" allegedly notified (d) — held no office around 431. He was exiled. If the patriarchs had warned Sahak or anyone else at the time of the Council of Ephesus, then the alleged denunciation of Theodore (a-c) even precedes the condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus! To assert that the Armenians, or anyone else for that matter, considered the writings of Theodore "fallacious" (b) before Ephesus has to be ruled out categorically. Also fictitious is the insinuation that Sahak and Maštoc' "promptly removed and expelled" the writings of Theodore (e-f).

The attempt of the Armenian narrator to tell about the events in hindsight is conspicuously present. Koriwn and Movsēs, or whoever produced these insertions, had a vested interest in removing Armenia from any diphysite scenario, and in associating the right belief, the *čšmartahawat*, with the protagonists of their stories, Sahak and Maštoc'. A comparison with the documents from Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, including auxiliary evidence, suggests that Koriwn and Movsēs Xorenac'i are not very trustworthy witnesses in regard to their accounts of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The brief report on the Synod of Aštišat, attributed to Yovhan Imastasēr, also shows that Movsēs and Koriwn cannot be used indiscriminately; their veracity has to be critically examined before one can rely on them.

* * *

The hitherto unsolved problems in connection with the correspondence between the Armenian clergy and Melitene on the one hand, and Constantinople on the other, including the controversy about Antiochean christology, had to be reinvestigated on the basis of the fateful events in the Persarmenian Church from 428 until 437. The ouster of Sahak in 428, the Syrian leadership from 429 till 437, and the subsequent limited authority of Sahak when he returned from exile in 432, shed new light on the entangled and complicated matter of the correspondence.

The political acumen of Sahak prevented the Persarmenian Church from coming under lasting and complete Syrian tutelage. However, his bold attempt to reopen connections with Constantinople in order

to bring the Armenian Church again into the orbit of Byzantium not only failed, but brought about his downfall in 428 : he had to yield to an iranophile prelate who in turn was substituted by a Syrian in 429.

Given the fact (1) that the Armenians turned to Edessa for their first systematic assimilation of christian doctrine at a time when Antiochean christology reached its peak in Edessa, (2) that the Armenian hierarchy was substituted by Syrian patriarchs from 429 until 437, (3) that under the Syrian leadership another Armenian delagation was sent to Edessa, (4) that the Armenian sources show traces of later reworking, I do not see how one can avoid the conclusion that the Persarmenian Church of the first four decades of the fifth century was moored in predominantly Antiochean christology with its diphysite leanings, which the Armenians had integrated through the mediation of Edessa. The first step to repudiate some of the diphysite doctrines was taken at the Synod of Aštišat in 435 or 436, which accepted the decisions of Ephesus and thus rejected also the christological tenets of Nestorius. Yet the synod also defended its doctrinal position by dispatching the Nicene Creed like the Antiocheans who had resorted to the same stratagem on several occasions during the same period.

Besides this, what I believe to be a legitimate theory about Persarmenia's pro-Antiochean orientation until at least 437 [the death of Š(a)muēl], if not 444 [the death of Surmak], we also reached a new assessment of the significance of the various stages in the process of outside interference from Melitene and Constantinople and its political and doctrinal consequences. Tentative dates were established and we outlined a more plausible sequence of events. Several questions still need to be clarified, particularly the problems in connection with the *capitula* attached to the Tome of Proclus and Ibas' translation of the *capitula*. In addition, the issue of the reliability of the evidence in Pelagius has to be examined. The problem dating some of the events and the historicity of the two alleged letters of Sahak await further discussion. I voiced considerable scepticism about Sahak's alleged reply to Proclus, which I consider a foregery. Yet Sahak's first letter, which is addressed to Acacius of Melitene, also requires reserve.

The sequence of events as tentatively outlined in this article, seem to best account for the development of the struggle between the pro-Syrian and anti-Antiochean parties in Persarmenia. Also the points of contact in the transmitted correspondence between Armenia and Melitene on the one hand, and Constantinople on the other, are no

longer opaque or open-ended. Thus the interrelation between the various letters has gained greater plausibility.

To facilitate the overview, we present a tentative schematic outline of the main events described in this article with the hope that future debate will clarify the issues which had to be left open, or which have to be reexamined.

	387	Sahak I becomes Patriarch invention of Armenian alphabet (between 391 and 408)
first 3 decades of 5th cent.: Edessa becomes centre for the study of Theodore of Mopsuestia, translation of Theodore by Ibas and others 411/412 Rabbula becomes bishop of Edessa	after 414	JOURNEY TO EDESSA (via Amida, including Samosata) Maštoc' and his disciples are received by Rabbula, probably make also acquaintance of Ibas Armenians become influenced by diphysite leanings of the School of Edessa
	between 423-425	SAHAK ESTABLISHES CONTACT WITH CONSTANTINOPLE (a) *Melitene*: Maštoc' leaves students with the bishop of Melitene under the leadership of Łewond(ēs) (b) *Constantinople*: Armenians are received by Theodosius II (408-450) and Patriarch Atticus (406-425)
the Antiochean presbyter Nestorius becomes Patriarch of Constantinople death of Theodore of Mopsuestia	428	*consequences*: *naxarark'* bring about Sahak's removal from office because of his hellenophile leanings the iranophile Surmak becomes Patriarch (428-429)
	429	removal of Surmak
	429-437	PERIOD OF SYR. PATRIARCHS IN PERSARMENIA
431 Council of Ephesus: condemnation of Nestorius	429-432	Brk'išo(y)
	432	removal of Brk'išo(y)
	432-437	Š(a)muēl

	432	Sahak's return from exile and limited authority
	no later than 432	JOURNEY TO EDESSA Yovsēp' and Eznik are sent to Edessa for the purpose of translating Syriac literature
432 Rabbula turns against Theodore, burning of Theodore's writings in Edessa, exile of Ibas 433 agreement between Antioch and Alexandria	between 433-434	Acacius' letter to Sahak and Sahak's reply
434 Proclus becomes Patriarch of Constantinople		
	between 434-435	JOURNEY TO CONSTANTINOPLE Łewond(ēs) and Koriwn are sent to Constantinople by Sahak
composition of the *Tomus ad Armenios* by Proclus	435	Yovsēp' and Eznik are sent to Constantinople by Š(a)muēl(?)[358] Eznik''s apology to Maštoc'
	435	Armenian delegation returns to Persarmenia with: – canons of Ephesus – Tome of Proclus
death of Rabbula, Ibas becomes bishop of Edessa, Imperial Constitution against followers of Nestorius	435/436	Synod of Aštišat: – acceptance of the decisions of Ephesus – reaction to the Tome of Proclus: – profession of faith is sent to Proclus (= alleged letter of Sahak)
	between 436-437	*The reactions in and outside of Armenia*: – letter of Acacius to the *naxarark'* (reply unknown) – libellus of Leontius and Abelius to Proclus
Synod of Antioch (Creed of Nicea)	437	death of Patriarch Š(a)muēl
	437-444	Surmak

(date?) Ibas had translated excerpts from Theodore into Syriac, renewed agitation against Theodore in Constantinople in 438, Proclus sends Theodotus to Antioch with[359]:
– *Tomus ad Armenios*
– *capitula (sine nomine)*
– letter concerning Ibas

[358] Cf. n. 105.
[359] Cf. ABRAMOWSKI, "Streit", p. 271, 285-286.

John of Antioch convokes synod
(which provokes another letter of Proclus to all the bishops)
Synod of Antioch (refers to Nicene Creed) and sends letters to:
– Proclus and the Emperor Theodosius II
– Cyril of Alexandria
Proclus' reply to John of Antioch and letter to deacon Maximus
Cyril's reply to John of Antioch
Cyril's letters to Acacius, Firmus, Theodotus
Cyril's journey to Jerusalem and his letter to John of Antioch
Cyril's return to Alexandria
visit of archimandrite Maximus (he brings Acacius' letter to John)
Cyril writes:
– *Expositio symboli*
– *Adversus Diodorum et Theodorum*
these two documents are sent to
Constantinople and Melitene through archimandrite Maximus

(date?) Synod of Antioch: refusal of condemning Theodore
Cyril yields because of pressure from Constantinople:
he writes to Proclus and John of Antioch
imperial decree closes the dispute

	438 or 439	death of Sahak
	440	death of Mesrop Maštoc'
	444	death of Surmak

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Corrigenda concerning my article (*The Armenian Night Office*) in *REArm* N.S. 17 (1983) 471-551. (chapter VI in this volume).

On p. 502 the indication for Ps 50 is missing at the last column = sabaitic office of Constantinople: Ps 50 ought to be inserted between the Gospel and the 9 canticles (as the comments under 3. below the column clearly indicate).

On p. 550 erroneoulsy a troparion was added by the printer to both, the canticle of Zachariah and that of Simeon: both canticles have no troparion (as is clearly stated on p. 521, n. 248), in contrast to the other NT-canticle, the Magnificat.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

I. The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing and its Implications

The Syriac prebaptismal anointing and its terminology is persistently attracting scholarly attention: see above all the extensive study by B. Varghese, *Les onctions baptismales dans la tradition syrienne* (= CSCO 512 subs. 82, 1989) pp. 3–62; further the unpublished dissertation of V. van Vossel, *L'onction baptismale chez St. Ephrem*, defended at the Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, in 1984.

For the original Syriac baptismal theology (based on John 3,5) the interesting study of A. Mouhanna, *Les rites de l'initiation dans l'Eglise maronite* (= OCA 212, 1980) is to be recommended. Since this investigation concentrates on the shape and content of the baptismal theology, it does not discuss the technical terms for the oil and the anointings, nor the difference between *rušmā* ('sign', 'mark [of ownership]') and *ḥatmā* ('seal'), which Mouhanna erroneously translates and treats as synonyms (pp. 19, 48, 122, 184–185, 197), see my review in *Oriens Christianus* 65 (1981), pp. 227–228.

Scholarly consensus has been established with regard to the meaning and translation of *rušmā* (and *ḥatmā*). The same is true for the noticeable absence of Pauline baptismal theology in early Syriac literature (*pace* van Vossel); see in addition: G. Winkler, 'Zur frühchristlichen Tauftradition in Syrien u. Armenien', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27 (1978), pp. 281–287; *eadem*, *Das armenische Initationsrituale* (= OCA 217, 1982) pp. 104–129 (= oldest Armenian evidence), pp. 135–165 (= oldest Syriac layer), pp. 168–175 (= summary), pp. 394–423 (= prebaptismal anointing in the oldest Armenian manuscript: a *liturgie comparée* using Greek and Syriac sources), pp. 405–413 (= discussion of Greek, Syriac, Armenian Terminology); *eadem*, 'Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier. Ihre Affinität mit syrischem Gedankengut', in: H. Becker, R. Kaczynski (eds.), *Liturgie und Dichtung* I (St. Ottilien, 1983), pp. 391–392; S. Brock, *Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition* (= The Syrian Churches Series 9, 1979), pp. 23–26, 39; *idem*, 'The Transition to a Post-Baptismal Anointing in the Antiochene Rite', in: B.D. Spinks (ed.), *The Sacrifice of Praise: Studies in Honour of A.H. Couratin* (= Bibl. "Ephemerides Liturgicae" subs. 19, 1981) pp. 213–225, esp. pp. 217–219, 221–222, 224–225, and above all his 'The Syrian Baptismal Ordines (with special reference to the anointings)', *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977), pp. 177–183, esp. pp. 180–182.

II. Ein bedeutsamer Zusammenhang zwischen der Erkenntnis und Ruhe in Mt 11, 27–29 und dem Ruhen des Geistes auf Jesus ...

Corrigenda:

p. 269, note 11, line 4 (from below): 1953–1964 (instead of 1954).

p. 274, *syr Vg* 29b: ending of *syr* is incorrect.

p. 274, note 31: *CSCO* 283 (erroneously 293).
p. 277, note 45: 'vardapetut'iwn'.
p. 278-279: 'westliche Quellen'.
p. 298, note 130, line 3: 'die die gleiche Bedeutung haben'.
p. 304, after line 12: 13 (instead of 12).

Addenda:

(1) For πραΰς and ἀνάπαυσις (see chapter II, pp. 273–292) cf. R. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders und seiner Frau. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben jüdischer Überlieferungen in der außerkanonischen und gnostischen Literatur und in Denkmälern der Kunst* (= Abhandl. d. Akademie d. Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 112, Göttingen, 1979), pp. 34–35 (with an explanation of the name 'Noe' as 'rest' which alludes to his messianic role, also present in Mt 11, 28–29).

(2) For the theme of '*rest*' cf. Majella Franzmann, 'The Odes of Solomon, Man of Rest', *Orientalia Chr. Periodica* 51 (1985), pp. 408–421 (with further bibliography).

(3) Mt 11, 29 also became integrated in some Armenian Irenaeus-fragments (cf. H. Jordan, *Armenische Irenaeusfragmente* [Leipzig, 1913], pp. 6/61, 102, 105), and forms part of several Armenian creeds: see my forthcoming book-length study on the historical development of the Armenian creeds (a comparison of the Greek and Syriac *Formelgut*, including also the Georgian and Ethiopic evidence).

(4) The '*glorification*' in the context of Jesus' baptism (see chapter II, pp. 302–304) occurs also in Georgian creeds: see my forthcoming study on the development of the Armenian creeds (referred to above).

(5) For the '*Spirit-Christology*' (see chapter II, pp. 302–326) cf. G. Winkler, 'Die Licht-Erscheinung bei der Taufe Jesu und der Ursprung des Epiphaniefestes. Eine Untersuchung griechischer, syrischer, armenischer und lateinischer Quellen', *Oriens Christianus* 78 (1994), pp. 177–229; *eadem*, 'Neue Überlegungen zur Entstehung des Epiphaniefests', in: *A Festschrift for Dr. Sebastian P. Brock* (= Aram 5 [1993]), pp. 603–633.

III. Ein Beitrag zum armenischen, syrischen und griechischen Sprachgebrauch bei den Aussagen über die Inkarnation in den frühen Symbolzitaten

For the debate on *besrâ* and *pagrâ* cf. E. Beck, '*Besrâ (sarx)* und *pagrâ (sōma)* bei Ephram dem Syrer', *Oriens Christianus* 70 (1986), pp. 1–22.

Since the appearance of this article I discovered important new Armenian evidence on the early Armenian translation of the Nicene Creed preserved in the writings of Evagrius (cf. B.V. Sargisean, *Srboy hōrn Ewagri Pontac'woy vark' ew matenagrut'iwnk'* [Venice, 1907], pp. 134–137). This creed of Ps.-Evagrius forms a parallel to the symbol in the so-called letter of Sahak in the *Girk' T'łt'oc'* (Tiflis, 1901), pp. 10–11; new edition by N. Polarean (Jerusalem, 1994), 42–44. Both these witnesses go back to an earlier Greek and Syriac text, forming part of the *Didascalia* (cf. G. L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea et di Costantinopoli. Edizione critica* (Rome, 1967), pp. 66–68, 57–58 n. 59; A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche. Dritte vielfach veränderte u. vermehrte Auflage von L. Hahn* (Breslau, 1897), pp. 308–310 (§217).

The significance of these early witnesses to the Nicene Creed lies in the fact that these versions are silent with regard to the ἐνανθρωπήσαντα: only σαρκωθέντα is mentioned (so the Greek Didascalia, the two Armenian symbols in the letter of Sahak and in Evagrius; cf. Dossetti, p. 232). More important, I realized that all Armenian creeds until well into the 6th century follow this pattern, broken only by the so-called *Armeniacum*, the oldest testimony of which is to be found in the 7th-century historian Sebēos (cf. G.V. Abgaryan, *Patmut'iwn Sebēosi* (Erevan, 1979), pp. 156–157. The *Armeniacum* quoted in Sebēos probably stems from the mid-6th century, as several of its technical terms seem to indicate.

The symbol in Ps.-Evagrius (which follows a Syriac *Vorlage*) reflects the older vocabulary of the incarnation: *marmin zgec'aw* ('he put on a body') whereas the letter of Sahak presents the new rendering of σαρκωθέντα with the neologism *marmnac'aw* ('he was embodied'), coined from *zgec'aw marmin* ('he put on a body').

During the mid-6th century the Armenians eventually abandonned the previously circulating versions of the creed in the Didascalia, making use thereafter of the Nicene Creed with its double formula σαρκωθέντα and ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, also found in the *Hermeneia* which formed the basis for the so-called *Armeniacum*. The *Armeniacum*, which follows the *Hermeneia* in its statements about the incarnation, provides an important witness for the neologism *mardac'aw* ('he was inhominated') coined from *mard elew* ('he became man'). Herewith I am slightly modifying the precise date for the introduction of the neologism *mardac'aw* which I had previously associated especially with Babgēn I. (chapter III, pp. 507–508), but which, as I now believe, must have occured slightly later, namely during the time of Catholicos Nersēs II. See my forthcoming brief summary: 'Armenian Anaphoras and Creeds: A Brief Overview of work in Progress', in: *Orientalia Chr. Analecta* (in print) and my book-length study on the development of the Armenian Creeds: A comparison with the Greek, Syriac, Georgian, and Ethiopic *Formelgut* (in preparation for print).

IV. Further Observations in Connection with the Early Form of the Epiklesis

With regard to the epiclesis in chap. 27 and 50 of the Acts of Thomas (see chapter IV, pp. 68–71) cf. H. Kruse, 'Zwei Geist-Epiklesen in den syrischen Thomasakten', *Oriens Christianus* 69 (1985), pp. 33–50 (pp. 35–43 = chap. 27; pp. 44–52 = chap. 50).

See now also the more detailed and extensive investigation of G. Winkler, 'Weitere Beobachtungen zur frühen Epiklese (den Doxologien und dem Sanctus). Über die Bedeutung der Apokryphen für die Erforschung der Entwicklung der Riten', *Oriens Christianus* 80 (1996), pp. 177–200.

V. The Armenian Night Office I...

(1) For the *inclusion of the Lord's Prayer* (see chapter V, pp. 99–100 with note 49) I had hypothetically suggested the 10th century as the earliest date. However, Hac'uni (*Patmut'iwn Hayoc' alot'amatoyc'in* [Venice, 1965], p. 246) refers to Pseudo-John of Damascus (12th century) who accused the Armenians of not having included the Lord's Prayer in the office. This seems to prove that by the

12th century the dominical prayer still did not form part of the office. Only by the 13th century was it apparently included *at the end* of the office, and only by the 15th century also *at the beginning* of the synaxis. I owe this information to my former student Khajag Barsamian, now the Very Rev. Archbishop of the Eastern Diocese of the Armenian Church in North America.

(2) *The Chistological Doxology* (see chapter V, pp. 100–105): this intriguing doxology formed the initial introduction to the night office. It is also present in the anaphora of Athanasius, cf. Catergian, *Die Liturgien bei den Armenier. Fünfzehn Texte und Untersuchungen, herausgegeben von P.J. Dashian* (Wien, 1897) p. 274 crit. app. line 3.

For further information on the introductory part of *Gišerayin Žam* according to the 8th-century commentary of Siwnec'i see the forthcoming doctoral thesis of M. Findikyan, *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily Office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i († 735): Edition and Translation of the Long and Short Versions with Textual and Liturgical Study* (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1997).

VI. The Armenian Night Office II…

Corrigenda:

p. 473, note 2, line 2: 'Awetik'ean'.

p. 474, note 7: '*la* voix'.

p. 475, line 5: (the comma ought to be dropped): '... seven units of psalms ...'.

p. 478, note 30, line 4: 'armatakan'.

p. 481, line 9: '... salmosin'.

p. 481, last line of text: 'the seventh subsection' (instead of: 'the seven subsections').

p. 482, note 61: I had suggested that Ōrmanean contained some 'typographical errors' concerning the psalms. The late archbishop Polarean, however, has informed me that the difference is due to the variations between the *Salmosaran* and the Bible of which I was not aware.

p. 493, line 6: 'pointing' (also p. 498, line 13).

p. 494, note 123, last line: p. 217, 244.

p. 496, line 7: 'vigil'.

p. 502, in the last column = (sabaitic) CONSTANTINOPLE: *Ps 50* should be inserted between the 'gospel' and the '9 canticles'.

p. 511: Syriac '*mazmuro*' and '*zmr*'.

p. 514, concering the *refrain of P*. the correct translation is: 'The ram *was* substituted for Isaac ... '.

p. 515, line 2 (from below): 'kc'urd' (instead of 'kc'urdk'').

p. 518: I had suggested that the *erg* and the *tał* 'developed only during the 13th century'. It seems, however, that Grigor Narekac'i is the author of several *tałk'*, hence the *tał* may be attested already by the 10th century. The *erg* was developed particularly by Nersēs Šnorhali during the 12th century.

p. 525, second part, line 4 (from below): '*But* as the canticle ...'.

p. 534, heading: '(3) *The testimony*...'.

p. 536, last line: 'History of the Province of *Sisakan* (or: *Siwnik'*).

p. 542, note 319: G. Winkler, 'Die Tauf-Hymnen der Armenier. Ihre Affinität mit syrischem Gedankengut', in: H. Becker, R. Kaczynski, *Liturgie und Dichtung* I (St. Ottilien, 1983), pp. 381–419.

p. 550, first column: '1 variable canticle...', second column: the canticles of Zachariah + Symeon have *no troparion*.

Addenda:

My article, which presented for the first time an extensive study on the Armenian Night Office, caused considerable debate, as the exchange between Ch. Renoux and myself demonstrates:

(1) Ch. Renoux, 'A propos de G. Winkler, "The Armenian Night Office II", dans *REArm*, N.S. t. XVII (1983), pp. 471–551', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 18 (1984), pp. 593–598;

(2) G. Winkler, 'Nochmals das armenische Nachtoffizium und weitere Anmerkungen zum Myrophorenoffizium', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 21 (1988–1989), pp. 501–519;

(3) *Eadem*, 'Ungelöste Fragen im Zusammenhang mit den liturgischen Gebräuchen in Jerusalem', *Handes Amsorya* (1987), pp. 303–315;

(4) Ch. Renoux, 'Le *iadgari* géorgien et le *šaraknoc'* arménien', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 24 (1993), pp. 89–112.

For the *Canticle of Dan* 3 cf. S.P. Cowe, 'The Canticle of Azariah and its Two Armenian Versions', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 5 (1990–91), pp. 23–48.

For the *Syriac evidence* on the *Octoechos* (see chapter VI, pp. 536–537 with note 303) cf. A. Cody, 'The Early History of the *Octoechos* in Syria', in: N. Garsoïan et al., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington, 1982), pp. 89–113.

For the eighth century evidence see the forthcoming doctoral thesis of M. Findikyan, *The Commentary on the Armenian Daily office by Bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i († 735): Edition and Translation of the Long and Short Versions with Textual and Liturgical Study* (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome, 1997).

VII. An Obscure Chapter in Armenian Church History

p. 90, line 2 (concerning the date of the final creation of the Armenian alphabet): 'between 391 at the earliest and *416*' (not '*408* the latest'). See now my extensive study: *Koriwns Biographie des Mesrop Maštoc'. Übersetzung und Kommentar* (= OCA 245, Rome, 1994) pp. 226–268; for the date cf. pp. 270–271; for the general problems concerning Koriwn's indications of dates cf. pp. 418–428.

p. 90, note 14, line 2: p. *327* (not 321).

p. 108 (concerning Syriac influence in doctrinal matters): 'Eznik maintains the Syriac expression ... "he put on a body" while translating it into Armenian ...', see now my preliminary study: 'Ein Beitrag zum armenischen, syrischen und griechischen Sprachgebrauch bei den Aussagen über die Inkarnation in den frühen Symbolzitaten', in: *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski* (= Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für

Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 66, Berlin / New York, 1993), pp. 499–510 (for this study see my addenda to chapter III).

p. 109ff: For Acacius of Melitene cf. N. Garsoïan, 'Acace de Mélitène et la présence de dyophysites en Arménie au début du V[e] siècle', in: *Au carrefours des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (= Res Orientales 7, 1995), pp. 73–85.

p. 115ff: For the Synod of Aštišat in 435/436 see my overview in *Koriwn*, pp. 371–382, 384–386, 388–390; *eadem*, 'Das *Gloria in excelsis* und Trishagion und die dem Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i zugeschriebene Konziliengeschichte', in: *ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft S.J.* (= Studia Anselmiana 110, Rome, 1993), pp. 537–569. Whether there actually was a synod at that time is still disputed: N. Garsoïan, 'Acace de Mélitène', p. 79 note 37; M. van Esbroeck, 'Die sogenannte Konziliengeschichte des Johannes von Odzun (717–728)', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 26 (1994), pp. 31–60. See also my extensive study on the developement of the Armenian creeds (forthcoming).

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